



Allowed to be Published,  
this 13<sup>th</sup>, day of *July*, 1688.





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**Dr. Burnett's**  
**REFLECTIONS**

Upon a Book, Entitled,

**Parliamentum Pacificum:**

(The First Part)

**ANSWERED,**

By the Author.



**L O N D O N,**

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ANSWERED

By the Author



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# Dr. Burnet's

## REFLECTIONS

### Answered, &c.

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#### S E C T. I.

**I**T could not be expected but that Dr. B. would bestir himself to Reflect, and Revy upon a piece that so nearly touch't his Person: 'Tis natural for men, when they are *prest*, to be uneasy; and since the Dr. will not put himself upon his *Tryal*, and our *English* Law cannot reach him for standing *mute*; 'tis Argument alone that must press him to yield up his Cause, or submit it to the Decision of Sense and Reason, and the Judgment of Persons impartial and \**unprovok'd*: For my own part, I must avow to the World, That no Prejudices or Provocations conceiv'd against his Religion, or receiv'd from his Person, prevail'd with me to pass upon him those just Animadversions; nothing but that Duty I owe to the *Best* of PRINCES libell'd and defam'd;

B

\* Vid. His  
Letter to my  
Ld. M.

fam'd; (and as *ill* as he makes mine, that his Crimes may be the more illustrious) I will not say by the *worst* of Pens: This innocent Impartiality he does utterly disown, and declares himself, under hand, an avow'd Enemy to the *Persuasion* of his PRINCE, and His *Person* too; this I hope, with men of sober and sedate Judgment, or men of common Sense and Reason, will have this weight, that I deal more fairly with the Dr, than he does with his *own* Sovereign; that my Reasonings must be more the Result of the Merit of the Cause, and that, besides, his highest Misdemeanor against His Majesty, his greatest Insolency to the Sovereign Authority, (and what perhaps we may prove, not only from the Municipal Laws of *Scotland*, but those of most Nations) his *High Treason*: I have nothing against him (and desire no more) of Resentment, Prejudice, or Provocation.

For his Revenge and Reflections on my Work, were it not for the Affront, Scandals, and Indignities, that none but he, and those that were ever fam'd for it, the Defenders of him, and (as he will have it) of his \*Faith too, do continually cast upon the KING, I would have sav'd the Pains of a Revy, my former Reasons should have *stood* by their Weight, or have *fallen* with it too: And let the **Reflector** (to return him his affected Air, acquired from his most accomplisht Travels) have retain'd his *Opiniatre*, applauded his own \*Works and *Originals*, and commended this his most elaborate Cavil, for a solid Answer and Confutation, which how far it is from it, from *every* Paragraph, *every* Particular shall appear.

His contentious Spirit, and most implacable Zeal, sets up here indeed for the *Doctrine of Resistance*, had he

\*Vid. Reflect.  
Sect. 7.

Vid. His Reflect.  
on Oxford Relation  
pag. 1.

Vid. Reflect.  
Sect. 1.

he not given us Evidence before in the Fate of a Lord that fell by it too; as also in some of his \* Papers penn'd for that purpose since: Such an *Antipathy* appears in him against *Peace*, that according to the Philosophical Definition of that unaccountable Passion, there is no *Cause to be given for it*; such an Aversion, that he must needs quarrel at the very Word; that his Enemies contended for *War*, when the Royal Psalmist labour'd for *Peace*; was the Complaint too even of a *King*, after GOD's own heart; and if *this* be His *Majesty's* Case *thus* to suffer, His *Piety*, (on which the Dr. so prophanelly drolls) with that *Primitive* Pattern, may be as much admir'd, as well as all such *Originals* of Sedition, and Disturbance, detected and abhorr'd: It has been so far our Authors Task to verify the Application; that he has taken the most pernicious Pains, been industrious, even to Sedition, to apply it: At *Our Anointed* he has shot his *Arrows*, even bitter Words, he has encompass't him with Words of Hatred, and would have us fight against Him too, without a Cause: If these are his best Expedients for *Peace*, our Nation has just as much occasion to thank Him, as (he says) some \* of their neighbouring Countries have his New Masters for their Management of that of *Nimmeguen*: I cannot see why we should not have as good a Notion of *Peace* here in *England*, as the Dr. has in a Country that has been so much the Seat of *War*; and if *Implicit Faith*, if *Absolute Slavery*, be the only *Peace* he is so much afraid of, they are but ill coupl'd with an *Apoplexy* too, that being a Disease sudden and unforeseen, when the former Maladies, even from the Dr's Confession, have been invading us this *Hundred* Years; and if we believe him, ever since the Reformation,

\* Vid. Six Papers, pag. 4. It will look on, &c.

Vid. Reflect. pag. 1.

Self. 3.

Pag. 6.

tion: No, to all impartial People, the *Peace* we aim'd at, will appear *still* the same; however, he would disfigure and disguise it; the *Tranquility* of the State, the *Quiet* of a Nation, compos'd by the gracious Favour of an indulgent Monarch; and confirm'd by the reciprocal Happiness of a grateful and obedient People.

## S E C T. II.

Vid. *Self*. 1.

**I**N the next place it will as plainly appear, how *vainly* he cavils at the Constitution of that Parliament which was Assembled for the Comming in of the *KING*; I am sure he had once a *better* Opinion of it, when he and Mr. *Baxter* were *better* acquainted; and he then had milder Thoughts of these *moderate Presbyterians*; but now that Gentleman is become his *Enemy*, and perhaps only for *telling the Truth*, for offering to be an Evidence against the Dr. in *High Treason*. The Restoration of His Late Majesty, was by this Dr. in his *moderate* days, imputed to these *moderate Presbyterians*, whom he will not now allow to be *\*moderate* at all, no not in his own Kirk of *Scotland*; these sort of People for the most part compos'd that *Convention*, which we must not now call a *Parliament*, and of which he once had a much better Opinion; I believe he could now wish too, from his kindness to that *KING's Memory*, that there had been no such *Convention* at all for the calling of him; and such is the Contrariety of some Mens unsettled Sentiments and Thoughts, that are subjected to the prevalency of Passion & Prejudice, that there is a Proverbial saying, which for Civility sake I will not tell him in *terminis*, That the *sound of the Bell does sometimes solely depend upon some Peoples Thoughts and Preconceptions*: But the

\* Vid. His Reflections on the King's Indulgence in *Scotland*, Par. 5.

the Dr. is very much deceiv'd, when he thinks his Author did not consider the defect, that according to the ancient constitution of Parliaments attended the *Convention* (if he will call it so) of that assembled State. He, I'll assure him, sufficiently *forefaw* it, ponder'd upon it when he put Pen to Paper; but could never *foresee*, or imagin, that even the Dr. could have been so improvidently peevish; as in such a point, to have made it an objection; why for GOD's sake, does it follow from a necessitated imperfection in nice Law; that unavoidably attended that Session, that therefore now none of its *sober debates*, or *wholesome constitutions* can be recommended to posterity for imitation, and when His Late Majesty commanded that it should; when even we are govern'd at present by some of the very Laws that it made: if only the passing an Act, assented to by the King, made it a Legal Session, and which did determine but by express proviso against it; sure then the Parliament must be reputed Legal too in which it was Past; so that necessity which might occasion a defect, did not make an *Essential Nullity* (as he is pleas'd to name it more by Metaphysical Phraseology, than any term of Law,) for then all its Acts must have been *Null'd* too, which by the next we saw were only *Confirm'd*.

But besides (if among my many *Slips*, \* which the Dr. leaves to others to find out, I mistake not now too;) the *Continuance* of the Parliament, the *Dissolving* it self, the *Calling* Another *without the King's Writ* was assented to by special Act of Car. I. which *could not be Repeal'd*, till C. the *Second* was assembled amongst them, to *Repeal* it; and there to give it His *Fiat* Royal, to make it more forceable; or if it *could*, 'tis somewhat improbable from the unhappy Junctures of those Affairs,

\* Reflect.  
Sect. 9.

Vid. Keebles  
Statute.

16, 17. Car. I.

fairs, that it *could* be expected before; and therefore by the very first Act of the Session; (as if made to silence such Drs.) it was declared, \* *That the Lords and Commons, then Sitting, were the Two Houses of Parliament*; and that notwithstanding the King's *Writ of Summons, as much as if His Majesty had been Present* at its Commencement, and *Call'd It*; and tho' by the next of the \* same Reign, it was made *Præmunire* to defend what was done *without* the Royal Assent; yet the Act for *perpetuating* the Parliament, was past by the \* King Himself; they continued till Military force pull'd them out of the House; they met again after *Secluded*, dissolved themselves, and therefore 'twas made Criminal too, by the foresaid Act, to say they were still in Being; and if the *bare Confirmation* of former Acts, shall imply an *essential Nullity* to the foregoing Parliaments, the Dr. has ruin'd all his Reformation of King *Edward*, by the Confirmations of Queen *Eliz.* and therefore the very Act that *Confirm'd* what was enacted by this *convention* before, never questions it for a *Parliament*, and calls it one; but only dissipates all doubts, from the difficulties that occasion'd the *manner of its assembling*. I have met with heretofore, some Lawyers that would not allow it to be such a *formal* Parliament; but none ever yet went so far (to continue his *Metaphysicks*) as to question it for an *Actual* one; I wish the Dr. would labour a little more in his own Province, and prove to the World the *Series of Our Protestant Ordination*, instead of the *Succession of Parliaments*; not that I so much doubt it, or that we may be asham'd to be oblig'd for it to the Church of Rome; but because some people of late have taken so much pains to *Impeach* it, and that I think from the faculty of the Dr. he would do better at the *Naggs-head*, than in *Westminster-hall*. But

\* *Vid. 12.*  
*Car 2d. Cap. 1.*

\* 13. *Car 2.*  
*cap. 1.*

\* *Car. 1.*

*Vid. Ibid.*  
*cap. 7.*

*Vid. 13. Car. 2*  
*cap. 7.*

But there is no need of any further defence to any Objection that is so needless, and ill offer'd, to baffle Dr. B. by imitation, would be in a manner but abusing of my self; 'tis plain, that the designs which some people had for *power* and Oppressing the *Innocent* (even from his own confession) more than the desires and distrust of some that were *Guilty*; or the necessity that was for it, hasten'd this dissolution of that peaceful Assembly, and for his inconsiderate suggestion, that the setting it for an example, was a design of placing the Sovereignty in the people, and courting a Commonwealth; hee'll see now we make it solely depend upon a sanction of the Kings; and would he visit the Author, he should see his error in a refutation of his, of that pernicious Principle, of perfect confusion, by which he is bound to defend the very foundation of his state; and 'tis strange we must be reproacht for \* *Courting a Commonwealth*, at the same time we are so *vainly* menac'd for having express against one too much of \* *resentment*.

\* Page 1.

\* Page 5.

### S E C T. III.

IT is no wonder, to see the Dr. make His Late \* Majesty so *Ill* a Man, when he had long before made Him so *Bad* a Christian: were it not his *Peculiar* to *Libel* *KINGS*, his Church might be mistrusted for that Loyal Deportment she ever paid him; but as she had ever *better* thoughts of him in his *Life* time; so she cannot be brought to entertain such *Bad* ones after his *Death*: common Morality, even with a Proverbial Authority, commands us to *Speak well of the Dead*, tis hard if a King too, and the Sacred Dust of Princes, cannot put in for the priviledges of common Clay;

\* Page 2.

Clay; and Mortality, to make him a man of *Treachery* and *Design*, is too grossly invidious for a Prince that was *Fam'd* for good Nature, even to a *Fault*; it looks so much like one of the *Meddals* of the Dutch upon His Late MAJESTY, (and they, you know always have their *Reverse*) that 'tis among them I believe he learnt to *value his Memory*. I much fancy these his *Mysterious Designs* were never so *clear* to the Dr, till this transport and passion had enlightned his Eyes; for Cholerick people are apt to see with *Fire* and Indignation, and so fancy all Things in *Flames* that are about them; this makes him fly so much to *Smithfield Arguments*, and the *Conversion* of *Dragoons*, under the easy Reign of a Merciful Monarch, manifested in his inclinations to Mildness and *Indulgence*.

The late Celebrated Loyalist of the Long Parliament, whose Meritorious Services he would magnify; yet at the same time libels and defames them: *They will live and last in our Annals*, without his *writing their History*, nor be much blemisht by his defamations: those honourable Representatives, that had fate so long at the Helm, and steer'd so well, that we still owe to them about Twenty Years quiet and tranquility; who, had they concur'd with what was their *only* defection, their KING's Inclination to *Indulgence* (and for which obstinacy by his own Maxims he must condemn them too) had continu'd the repose they enjoy'd, and perhaps prevented all the Distempers that have since disturb'd us; these Gentlemen are so little oblig'd to this Dr. at *Amsterdam*, as they were formerly to that of *Salamanca*, and indeed the Obligation is *just* the same. Oates accus'd them long agoe, long before Dr. B. who it seems now begins to see with his Spectacles, *Designs* more *clearly*; that they were  
all

*all Pensioners, Creatures meerly Depending on the Crown*, tho' it appear'd even from the very List that was printed, that it was only a malicious Libel, and a Ly, that not *Ten* of the *Two Hundred* had really receiv'd the least Allowance; and even some of that was known to be for *publick Services*, which then, forsooth, must most politickly be call'd *secret*, only to countenance the scandalous Imposture of the Plot of the Papists; *this Design* was then also *clear* to *some*, and I think now is so to *all*: My self knew, and still do many of those Members most falsly to suffer under that malicious Imputation, whom the Dr. has no reason to reproach for the Selling of their Country, and *betraying* their Trust, when they truly serv'd both *that* and the *King*; but sure it is but a bad Return he makes them, when I am sure it was all the same Peers, if not the same Parliament, that Complemented Him for His *Mighty Performances*, which perhaps they might have omitted, had they known what Amends He would have made them, or thought him so good at Commending of Himself; but this is a Kindness He kept in *Reserve*, and a *Sublime* acquir'd since his Travels and Accomplishments.

I can't call this a Controversy with the Dr. when he gives up the Cause, when he seems to take pains to appear on my side: He shews us how the Late *King* was continually inclin'd to a *Liberty of Conscience*; he declares the *Act of Uniformity* a *severe* Thing, the Terms of Conforming, *Rigidity*; and those that required it, *Angry Men*: Was the Dr. *always* of this mind? Why then it seems he only Conform'd, *fell* in with the *Church*, for the sake of her Benefices, for officiating at the *Rolls*, just as he *fell out* with the

*State*, because he lost it; but this cannot credit much the Reputation and Integrity of such a Celebrated Writer, and the Church of *Englands Chief Men* are just as much oblig'd to him for his Characters, as the *Loyal Members* of the long Parliament; he has sufficiently attainted their *honesty*, and so most modestly taxes the Indiscretion of all his *Clergy*, that so the State, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, may more handsomely make up that excellent Composition of *Knave* and *Fool*: 'Tis strange that no party can escape the Fury of his enraged Pen; this doughty Wight may make a good Champion for the *Truth*, but will a much better in the *Rebearsal*. The Character of that *Hero*, as high as it is, may be more naturally applyed to Dr. B, than it is by him to the Late *Bishop of Oxford*: If you consider him elevated to such an *Exogen*, or *naturaliz'd*; for *hectoring of KINGS*, *invading of Kingdoms*, *fighting of France*, *combating England*, *defying of Papists*, *Presbyterians*, *Dissenters*, *Church-men*, and almost all *Mankind*: but if the *Loyal Parliament* (as he calls it in derision) were such *arrant Knaves*, (for if he is in earnest, then their Compliance with their KING is the best *Test* of their Loyalty, and it would be well His Present Majesty had more proof of it) and the *Chief Men* of the Church were such *infatuated Fools* as he makes them, to be wrought upon by the *Roman Catholicks* for introducing their Religion; why here then, was a perfect Conspiracy for *four and twenty Year*, of the *whole Kingdome*, (some poor suppressed *Dissenters* excepted) for bringing us back into Popery; and what is more strange, could never bring it to pass.

*All* our Power *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* was concern'd; *all* our Forces by *Sea* and *Land*; *King* and *Successor* on their

their side, and in his own dreadful Description; *A Parliament of chosen Creatures, all depending upon Himself;* and this for near Twenty Years together, and yet not one *step* toward Popery, unless what appear'd in *Andrew Marvels Growth* of it; but on the contrary in this very Interval of Time, the *Two* severe Tests set up to prevent it, and that by this *Parliament of Creatures*, and this *Treacherous designing King* of his, (that he makes alwaies to the very last contriving, to betray the Protestant Religion) from his *own* meer Motion, *Marrying* (that he may see I can use the Word) his two Nieces to two Renowned Princes of the Reformed Religion; the greatest Security they could desire of his Sincerity, to preserve and protect it; and if I might add *one* thing more, which I wish as well as the Dr. might be *forgotten*, prevail'd upon, from the tumultuous Proceedings of a Parliamentary Power, to part with a Brother that had done nothing, but to be more dear, a *palliated Exile*, that even the *necessity* of State could not so well excuse; and if neither *Councells, Force, Interest, Time*, nor *Religion* it self could hitherto bring about all this Formidable Revolution, I must confess, notwithstanding the *Discoveries* of Dr. B, to sober Men, and honest, this *Late King* cannot be suspected so *false*, or any Catholics so *designing*.

The Reformations in *Henry 8th. Time*, King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, were certainly Four as great Changes and Revolutions, as any we now fear, and as I think, somewhat like the same; and yet we find they were not working for it *under-ground* for above *Four and Twenty Year* together; (to confine it only to his Reflections on the *Late King*) and if we must credit all such Historians *Plot*, we must

*Vid. pag. 8.*

add above an Hundred more, marching their *Invisible Army*, and *Ammunition* in the *Air*, on the *Sea*, under *Earth*; P L O T S ! That Our Selves have blusht at, and even judicially baffl'd their Belief. But we still saw then, that assoon as there was any new Succession to the Throne, or any Prince of a different Sentiment, that *design'd* to make any Alterations in the *Church* or *State*, they were sooner compass't with *Ease* and *Expedition*; certainly these *plotting* Papists have been a long time very *unlucky*, or very *innocent*, when our *happier* Protestants had ever better Fortune, and could Reform here, more *easily* and openly, in some *few* Years, in the face, and in the sight of the Sun; and this I think, is as *clear* too, as some Peoples *Designs*, which even at a season, when they need not fly the *Light*; the Dr. says we must still suppose in the dark.

His secret of the *Dissenters* having been encourag'd to stand out against *Nonconformity*, even by the Court that pursu'd them with such *Rigidity* for not *Conforming*, I am perswaded is another *peculiar* among the many *Mysterious* Intelligences of the Dr, and not much inferiour to his wonderful Discoveries of the *Conference* at *Dover*, his *forreign Negotiations*, and His Majesty's being so *\*nearly ally'd to the Society*, when he might so well prove him from the same Evidence, *A Priest in Orders*, for the Authority of his *Liege Letter* lies only at that Authors door, who fram'd the *other* from Father *Petre*, to *Pere le Chaise*, both which will appear to those that have not abandon'd themselves to folly, as entire Fictions, he ought to discover him for once a *Prophet* too, that having been essential of old to the *Kingly Office*, and then he'l have the better security for his Religion, and may take his

*Word.*

*Word for an Oracle, but the Dissenters will not thank him for thus making out their secret Correspondence with the Court and Jesuites, but rather believe that he searcht no other Records for it, than the Original Manuscripts of Dr. Oates his Evidence: If this Advice to their standing out, was only in order to introduce a Toleration, how came it to pass, that when they had one actually granted, that those who had Interest enough to procure it; could not by the same Power have continued it to them too? Had the Late KING been so designing, so resolute to introduce this Religion so much contended against, He must from the Drs. Argument have stood to His Toleration, and which he might have done too, notwithstanding the Clamours of the Ensuing Parliament to suppress it; and if an Army alone alarms the Dr. with this Absolute Power, and must absolutely make any Monarch Arbitrary, with which such fearful Authors have made such a formidable Noise; then 'twas about that time too there was a standing one afoot; and 'tis but an Argument against him, for the quieting of all Minds, and assuring of Men they may the better acquiesce, when amidst an Army; and under an Indulgence; the Protestant Religion was entirely preserv'd, nothing was alter'd in the establish'd Church; nothing in the Constitution of the State.*

*His bitter Reflection, that Dissenters were pawn'd to the Rage of the Church, like the Jewels of the Crown for want of Money, was only an Allegory forc'd in for a better inveighing against his Prince in a severer Sarcasm, and a more invidious Expression by way of Figure; 'tis only a sublimer toucht of his Kindness to the Memory of His Majesty that is to be forgotten; 'tis but the Language of one that loves the Crown, like the Famous Author of the*

\*March.  
Needh. Merc.

as politickly knew how to render it *contemptible*, by representing of it *poor*, and so plainly call'd His Late Majesty the *King of Beggars*: I confess the practising upon the necessities of the Prince, was once a pretty Prologue, and expedient to promote a Rebellion; but I am sure the *Church of England* never lik'd it so well, and will think Her self but little oblig'd to this *pretious Jewel*, Her most gracious Son, for exposing Her for such a Pattern, that Her *Loyalty was only a Pander for Oppression*, and for giving no *Money*, till His Majesty had given Her up the *Dissenters*; however, the Observation as malicious as it is, will do now no Mischief, since our present Sovereign is as safe from the *Consequences* of it, as above the *Fears*.

#### SECT. IV.

**A**Nd now we are come to the true Province of Dr. B, that looks indeed like one of his Seventeen, *defying of his Prince*, and reproaching of Him, for *faithless, perfidious Designs to falsify all His Protestations*, and waiting but for an Opportunity to break through all his *Promises*: I confess *Liberty of Conscience*, and the *Writ de Comburendo* cannot consist, and are as contrary things, as the Dr. is sometimes even to himself; but what occasion the *King* has given us to have the least suspicion, or shadow of such an injurious Thought; that after *Liberty* for a little while allow'd, we shall come to the worst of *Pænal Laws*, I cannot comprehend: Is it because his *Word* was ever *Sacred*, and was never violated, but in Dr. B's Mouth? Was it to be rely'd on, even with an *implicit Faith*, when he was but a *Subject*, and a *Successor*?

cessor? And must it be the less believ'd now, because his Character is much greater? Does His Person partake more of Infirmary, and *human Nature*, when the Church styles him next under *G O D*, and nearer to the *Divine*? Is it because 'tis His Interest *so to do*, when the Quiet and Tranquility of the State will depend upon his not *doing it*, the Love of His Subjects, and the Ease of Himself? And *Lastly*, Is it *probable* he'l *doe* all this, because *possible* to be *done*? No, the Dr. knows all this is *good* Sedition, but *bad* Argument: he knows with what difficulty the *King* is compassing for all His Dissenting Subjects, an *Establish'd Toleration*, as sure any Prince would, that was not himself of the National *Church Establish't*, unless He could delight to see himself, and his perswasion Criminals to the *State*, and made obnoxious for their Faith to his Statutes and the Law, sentenc'd in some Cases, even to *Death*, by some of those Sanctions, to which in a Legal Sense, himself is suppos'd to give their *Life*: he knows that only for cancelling these Severities, and some other absurd Inconsistencies in the present Constitution of our *State*, his Prince Condescends to *solicit* the Repeal of these Laws, and for it, to gratify and *indulge* all his Subjects.

And yet even *this* the Dr. sees, he knows will not be compass't, but with much time, care, and caution; and what these invidious Authors would observe, but by *extraordinary Methods*, and *extrajudicial Proceedings*, does he think it *so easy* then, when only the *Laws* and *Tests* are repeal'd with such *difficulties* to find a Parliament after a Session or Two, that will establish severer *Acts of Uniformity* to the Church of *Rome*, when that of *England* has but just lost Hers? And another formal Repeal must be made before, of the  
*Toleration*

*Toleration Establish'd* : I need not take notice, that the Number of *Catholicks* of Quality, and Note, was never yet enough to make an House, and may be a long time before they be, that the National Religion will be ever that which is the most *generally receiv'd* ; the former Treatise has superseded for it my Pains in this ; but it is easy for the Dr, and a Man of Art, that *Juggles* with the Government, with the *turn* of his Hand, or the *shaking* of his *Box*, to shuffle upon us, from a preceding *Protestant*, a very *Loyal Catholick* Parliament : No, 'tis not the *Proof* that His Majesty has given, that his Promises to this establish'd Church are not to be rely'd on ; 'tis not the *Apparancy* of his visible *Interest*, that obliges him to Ruin and suppress the *Protestant* ; 'tis not the *possibility* of *doing* it so easily, were it so *injuriously Design'd* to be done ; 'tis none of this that thus disturbs him ; no, 'tis his *Zeal* for his Religion, 'tis his *Love* for a particular *Society*, 'tis the *Popes* Power to dissolve these Promises, and some *private Doctrines* that will instruct him in *Æquivocations* : But will this *Illuminato* say, that all this Calumny is *new* too, his own *peculiar* Notion taken from *Originals* ? — His Majesties *Zeal* has long been known to the World, as well as His *Courage*, and that to none more, than his new Masters, the *Dutch* ; and who have too much Honour in them to deny it. His constant perseverance in a Faith, which he too *believes the True One* ; Maugre the many Temptations to a *Change*, and the Dangers that threatned his *Continuance* : This I confess, shews a well - *settled Zeal*, and somewhat like that which inspir'd some Primitive Professors of a Religion, which we all agree to have been the *True Catholick Faith* : A *Zeal*, not *subject* to *Flattery*, and as much *above* Fear ; 'tis not *Christian*

*Vid. Par. 3.*

to make this *Criminal*, and if he will introduce this Doctrine among the *Dutch*, we must \*in his own Words, believe there are *Bramans there*. That His *Majesties* Favours are only extended to a particular *Society*, is an invidious Assertion more dogmatically laid down, than absolutely true, of which himself might even cease to wonder, did he believe his Whimsey, that His *Majesty* was a Member of it, but the Dr. is at too great a distance to make good Observations, and must needs commit most horrid Mistakes, should his Intelligence chance to be *bad*. I hope he'll have a care how he writes *History* upon *hear-say*; this would lay him open to himself, and even *Varilla's*; some People that see here without *Telescopes*, can observe that His *Majesties* Favours are not so confin'd, but extended even to some *Persons*, and *Orders*, that have not been adjudg'd such intimate *Friends* to that of *Jesus*; or if some of the Drs. \*Letters don't ly, or he believes them himself; a sort of *Enemies* too; some that have contended with them are no such Strangers at Court; and tho' that Learned Person, Father P. a Man of a liberal Education, and no mean Extraction, whom this Dr. B's. Lines can never let pass without an Asterisk, or Mark of his Favour, has truly so much of His *Majestys*, as his Worth and Merit may deserve, does this monopolize the Favour of the Prince to that Party; or should we not hear *Catholicks* themselves complain, if it were so Partial? Yet these are the Drs. *Premises*, these his *Conclusions*, these his *Discoveries*, in which he so prides himself; but should it prove so which is yet but *Insinuation*; and indeed, as the Dr. intends it for Disturbance, *Sedition*; did he never remember any Protestant Princes, that countenanced more especially, tho' not different *Orders*,

\*Vid. Par. 3.

Pag. 3.

\*Vid. his Travels.

yet a *set* of Divines of very different Opinions, even in their *own Church*? sure he does, or else our Books of more modern Reformation are very much bely'd: In King *James the First's* Reign he was sure to *run himself up to* Preferment, that could best baffle and *run down Arminius*; or (if he's pleas'd with the new Relation) *his Countryman*: The Old *Arrians* never seem'd to them such *Arch-hereticks*, and if he will have it more to the purpose, he may call this an *Order* too, or the *Order* of the Synod of *Dort*: But when the Tide turn'd again in K. *Charles the First's* Dayes, not many Bishops were made, but what would stand stiff, and stoutly to *His* Principles; and preach't down the other for a Doctrine, *uncharitable, impious, blasphemous, damnable*; this is so *sadly* true, that some wise People think it occasion'd the *War*; but were this *Society* so solely, so zealously in Favour, they might be envied for't, but not abus'd; their Learning, and more liberal Education, by the little that I have seen abroad in most *Catholick* Countries comes up (to speak in the Drs. Dialect) more to a *sublime*, than is commonly observ'd in some other *Regulars*; their Foundations more sumptuous, their Revenues richer, their Libraries larger, and I believe the Dr. himself more oblig'd in the Progresses he made to their Courtesy and Communication: but what Reason Protestants have to upbraid their Prince here with *Partiality*, I cannot apprehend; who proposes not only an *Universal Indulgence to all*, but practises *equal* Dispensations and Distributions of his Favours, even among themselves: Are not the Protestants much the majority in His *Council*, in Employments, *Civil*, and *Military*? Are not some particular Loyal Peers of that Perswasion, known to have no little Interest and  
Influence

Influence? Does not their Chappel stand as quietly within his *own* Walls, as His *own* wherein he *worships*? And that perhaps, in spite of some Provocations upon the place; for as I heartily wish the continuance of it there, so I could wish too, a more prudential decency would attend it; Persons of *great* Learning, and *good* Lungs, may exercise themselves, and to much Edification, without thundering against *Rome*, to the shaking of the Church of *England*, and where now rests this *partial* Imputation of *Zeal*, of *Bigottry*, and *Opinion*? What must become of all this *malitious Stuff*? Must not the *World* be ashamed of it, I could almost have said the *Dr.*?

But now for his invincible Arguments of the *Popes* *Dispensing Power*, and the monstrous Doctrine of *Mental-Reserves*, and *cunning Equivocation*; does this affect His *Majesty* any farther, then he submits to be govern'd by it, and has the *Dr.* prov'd in any single Instance, that he ever made use of such Evasions for a *Salvo* to his Sacred Word? So that supposing an unquestionable Verity in the *Drs.* Depositions, 'tis but a bad inference from the Principles of any Persons to calumniate the Prince, and to assert him *actually* affected with such Sentiments, only from a *possibility* of being so: But has this good Christian then the Charity to believe, to think, that all *Romanists* imbibe these Doctrines, suck them from the very Milk of their Mother Church? That the *Pope* can *dissolve* any *solemn Promise*, *Contract*, or *Oath*; certainly the Catholick Countries must have but *bad* Commerce, since to *dangerous* security; and yet I cannot see but we keep a good Correspondence with those Climates, true Returns made us in our Trade, and the Traffick for their Commodities, as secure upon the place; Con-

Par. 3. pag. 2.

*Vid.* Popery  
Represented,  
&c.  
*Vid.* Bish. of  
Goud.

tracts in themselves unlawful, are in some Cases *de Facto* void, and in others resolv'd so by some equitable Construction in the Law; Oaths necessitated, and in *Illicitis*, our *Sanderson* will satisfy us, we can *Dispense* with, without a *Pope*; and I cannot apprehend, either from Reading, or Conversation with any Catholick, that the *Papal Power* pretends to *Dispense*, but upon some such Considerations: The *Reserve*, by which all Jesuits must so unreasonably suffer, have as oft by themselves been as solemnly renounc'd, not only in some elaborate Writings, but seal'd, even with their latest Breath; and if any particular Persons have positively asserted it, 'tis as injurious to paum it upon a whole Society; 'tis such a *Reserve* to their Enemies, such a *Refuge*, I confess, to those that will accuse them, that it is morally impossible to defend themselves from the Imputation, if when they sacrifice their Lives for it, invoke the Almighty, renounce these *Reserves*, even with a dying Imprecation, and they shall still be supposed to be *dispensed* withal for this; their *Accusers Malice* in common Charity, must be more presum'd on, and suspected, than any such *Principles* in a *Christian Faith*; so that in short, the Papers of Dr. B. deal no otherwise with the Promises of the KING, than their old Descants did upon the Dying Speeches of the *Jesuits*, when their Animadversions superseded all possible Defence of their *Innocency*, and were the most infallible expedients for the fastening of *Guilt*; and where the Interest of State, and the Sacred Resolutions of the Prince dispose him to maintain his unviolable Word, or his solemn Oath; it cannot but be the *profanest* Thought, to make his Religion betray his *Morality*; and even a fervent Faith and *Piety*, to be but a perfidious Pander to a more deliberate *Perjury*.

\**Vid.* Par. 3.]

S E C T.

## S E C T. V.

**I**T is a *hard* Fate for a Prince to be *argued* out of His Integrity, and to be made an ill Man with artificial Inferences and Insinuations: It is an acknowledged *hardship*, even to a common Prisoner at the Bar; and the Dr. in his Tryal would be loath so to suffer; *Constructive* Treason, in the Case of a Subject, notwithstanding the 25<sup>th</sup>. of our *Edward*, has been much *Complain'd* of; and I think, Dr. B. has made it his *Complaint*, and shall his KING be call'd to an *Account*, as *unaccountable* as he is, for a Violation of His Faith, and that only by *Construction*; 'tis as great a Crime, as can blemish a *Monarch*, and ought to be as tenderly treated, as His *Subjects* Lives; the Greatness of His Person aggravates the Guilt, and from the Meanness of his Condition, is more excusable, or less conspicuous in a common Man, Breach of *Promise*, or Faith; in the Sovereign Authority is as much the highest Violation, as Treachery against it, by a Parity of Reason, the greatest Guilt; I hope Dr. B. does not deal with His Majesty, as \* *Harrison* did with his Father they Martyr'd, study to *blacken* him: But I cannot but observe, That his *Charge* seem somewhat to favour of *Cook* the *Solicitor*; and Looks as if he was Retain'd *Counsel* against the KING, to prove this *betraying* of His Trust, and does every thing but call Him *Craytor*; I do not think the Drs. Intentions so bad, but must needs think that he seldom considers the Consequences that may be drawn from his own Discourses; The *Calumniators* of that King would only have prov'd an actual *Violation*

Vid. *Sidney's*  
Paper.

\* Vid. Tryal  
of the Regi-  
cides;

lation of his *Trust*; and the Dr. deliberately studies here, from *Reason* and *Religion*, *Politicks*, and *Example*, to prove in his Sovereign, a necessity to *betray* it; what is this, but the rendering Him odious and criminal, with the worst of *Innuendo's*, or to make him suffer by *Anticipation*; and what to a *Subject* no Laws will allow, by bare *Presumption* condemn him: I cannot in common Charity to the Dr. imagin this mighty Malice is directly meant to His *Majesty*, tho' too much I am afraid among such a deal of it must stick, but that his Transport and Passion against this *Society*, provok't him to such inconsiderate Reflections upon his Sovereign; and we have heard, I know, in our own History, of a Subject that in the heat of his Game, shot his *Arrows* at a Deer, but kill'd the King, I wish it were not applicable too to his *bitter Words*; and with them we have done here at present, having refuted them so far, as by pretence of Reason they would perswade us of the necessity of His Majesty's violating of His Word and Faith; but for fear lest that should fail in its Effects, or a Specimen of his Excellency in Speech and Declamation, he brings Presidents for it, and Examples, which we are now come to Consider.

And the *First*, is the Famous Edict of *Passaw* in *Germany*, which the Dr. had much better omitted, than touch't upon; it shews plainly the Disposition, and Inclination of no less than Four of the Emperors that were *strickt* Roman - Catholicks, and followed one another, for granting Indulgence, and Liberty to those that differ'd from them in Religion: In the *First* place, *Ferdinand* the *First*, from his own Confession did this, and this Edict by him was chiefly procur'd; and that, notwithstanding the President that  
was

was set him by the Preceding Emperor, *Charles the Fifth*, who ruin'd the League made by the Protestants at *Smalcade*, and took Prisoners the Elector of *Saxony*, and *Landgrave of Haffia*, and was so zealously addicted to the Devotion of the *See of Rome*, that he renounced the Crown, settled himself among the Monks, and died in a \**Monastery*. This *Ferdinand* setting aside the Relation of his Blood, had so great an Obligation to this *CHARLES*, and His *Religion*, that he had no reason to recede from those Severities, that our Author would make us believe *both* did require; and this does only more eminently shew, That a Catholick King, notwithstanding the Tyes of *Blood* and *Religion*, may think himself never the more oblig'd to persecute and oppress; for it was by the Procurement of *Charles*, that this *Ferdinand* his Brother, was chosen King of the *Romans*, and his *Zealous Recess*, his *Devout Retirement*, that facilitated to the other, his sooner and more easy Ascent to the Empire; so that both his Brothers *Kindness*, as well as *Devotion*, had very much oblig'd him: I know that *Charles the Fifth* is said by some, to have design'd his Son *Philip* to succeed in his Empire; but that does not extenuate his Kindness to his Brother *Ferdinand*; and I mention it only for fear the Dr. should make another unnecessary Objection: after this, *Ferdinand* succeeded him, and as others say, even among the \**German* Writers, according to his own Intentions, giving the Low Countries to his Son *Philip*, and leaving the Empire to this his Brother, who upon his First Advancement to it, contended with the Pope, *Paul the Fourth*, for not confirming him, and that only for his \**Indulgence* to the Protestants, and taking upon him the Imperial Crown without his Permission: In the

\* *St. Just.*  
*Cloyster in*  
*Spain.*

*Vid. Schultze.*  
*Chro. Lubbeck.*

\* *Schultzen's*  
*Chron. printed in High-*  
*Dutch.*  
*Lubbeck a Pro-*  
*testant.*

1558.

\* *Ibid.*

1559.

the very next Year of his Reign, he Call'd a Convention at *Ausburg*, to have settled the Disputes in Religion, but the Protestants beginning to Clamour, that they would not submit it to be determin'd by the *plurality of Voices*, but by the *Rule of Gods Word*, he confirm'd to them again; that *Pacification of Passaw*, which he even in his Brothers time had so help'd to procure, and had sent them upon their Liberty to return, *Two Hundred* Protestant Preachers out of *Bohemia*, and during his Reign all things were quiet, the Protestant Princes subscribing again the *Ausburg* Confession at *Newburg*; and he as peaceably leaving them a Confirmation at his Death, and his Throne to his Son *Maximilian the Second*, after Six Years Reign. And the Clemency that ~~he~~ shew'd to those of the Reform'd Religion you see is such, that \*Dr. B. would insinuate that himself was really a Professor of it, or at least much suspected, tho' none before has made what he is so wonderfnnly good at, the *Discovery*: Two Daughters that he had, he married to the then most Zealous Princes of the Romish Religion; the most Christian, and most Catholick Kings, *Phillip of Spain*, and *Charles of France*: He did not only maintain the Edicts of *Passaw*, but permitted the Confession of *Ausburg* to all the Protestants of *Austria*, and that for the very same \*Reasons that His *Majesty* has express'd in His Declarations, *viz.* That *Consciences could not be forc't*: And it was in his Reign, that the Reformation of *Maygdeburg* an whole Archbishoprck was as entirely compleated, and that the *Doctor* may see how the Protestants were oblig'd to him too, aswell as *Matthias*, he himself labouring to compose the Differences for the *Low-Countries* then both under Reformation, and a Revolt. After 12 Years Reign, which, our Ger-

man

\* Idque ob  
hanc Ratio-  
nem; quod  
iniquum est  
& impium  
Conscientijs  
imperare.  
Gutberlet.  
Chron.

man Author calls the most happy days for the Protestants, *Rudolphus* his Son before King of *Hungary*, *Romans*, and *Bohemia*, succeeded him; in the beginning of his Reign, all things had as good success among the Protestants; the Reformation went on, the *Ausburg* Confession confirm'd, a Convocation was call'd at *Lubeck*, in which it was resolv'd they should submit themselves with all Obedience to the Emperor; and that their Religion should be permitted to them without any molestation or opposition; Pope *Gregory* the *Thirteenth* sent to him a new Calendar, as they call'd it, which the Protestant Princes opposed, entered their Protestation against it, and were Countenanc'd in it by the Imperial Power: About the Year 1600 at *Regenspurg*, there was a Conference again about Religion, Divines deputed on both sides, but the Differences about the Rule of Faith dissolv'd the Assembly; the Emperor no way interrupting the Dispute, the Proceedings were printed by the Protestants at *Wittenburg*, and by the Papists at *Ingolstadt*; and I hope this will shew that *Rudolphus* himself had no other design, but that all things should be determin'd according to the strength of Reason and Authority.

1579

1582

About this time the *Landtgrave* of *Hassia* renew'd again the Reformation, and went farther than the  *Germans* are wont to carry it, by throwing down Pictures, & Images, which even among the *Lutherans* my self have seen allow'd of, and applauded, and in all of their Eminent Churches, I could almost have said ador'd: so far was this *Rudolph*. from Severities and Oppressions in matters of Religion, that if he had been inclin'd to it, from his Zeal to a Perswasion, common Policy, and Interest of State, would have oblig'd him to the

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contrary,

contrary, he being then in War with his Brother *Matthias*, and indeed both sides striving which should most secure to them the Protestant Party, as by the Sequel will appear; for upon his Brothers being in Arms, the States of *Bohemia* took a solemn Oath to assist the Emperor with their Lives and Fortunes; upon this he granted to them a further Confirmation of the Confession of *Ausburg*, and though *Matthias* was prevail'd upon afterward by the Bishop of *Passaw*, and the Pope's Legate, Cardinal *Melini* to make an Edict to forbid it; yet he soon found his Error, and took occasion afterward to revoke it; for finding the Protestants more favour'd by his Brother, and the Troubles they had created him by their entering into an Union, occasion'd by his Prosecution, which wee'l say with the Dr. was set on by the House of *Grats*; why he presently thought it the wiser way to take a more moderate Course, and so permitted that the Pacification of *Passaw* should be indulg'd not only to the Nobility and Gentry, but the meanest Plebeians: The Emperor *Rudolphus*, when he saw some of the Protestant Party fall off to his Brother *Matthias*, and himself somewhat in a Condition not to value them, was animated so far, as for a time to forbid the publick Profession of their Religion, and the Meeting of the States at *Prague*, thinking himself not oblig'd to maintain the Priviledges that was granted then by *Maximilian*; but when he saw what a Disturbance it created, he soon Confirm'd to them, their Antient Priviledges, and new Exercise of Religion, and that in a more extraordinary manner, *viz.* that none of the Popish Bishops should oppose the Protestants in *Prague*, that both Religions should live peaceably together, and that those that disobey'd, shou'd be prosecuted as Disturbers.

sturbers of the Peace: (how near this comes to His Majesty's Propositions, even his Enemies must acknowledge) upon this, Protestant Churches were built, both in *Germany* and *Bobemia*, and little of Disturbance created to the Church, all the dayes of *Rudolphus*.

And now after these Alterations for Empire and Opinion, the Emperor himself dies after six and Thirty Years Reign; a time, long enough to have rooted out all the new sown Seed of the Reform'd Religion, had *Rudolphus* ever resolv'd it, or could have been prevail'd upon for its Extirpation; it being long before the *Swede*, that Famous Defender of the Faith, or rather Invader of the Country, had entered *Germany*: I cannot but observe how injuriously the Dr. deals here with those very Princes, whom he cannot but confess to have been fam'd for their Justice and Gentleness; for the Fury and Violencys which *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* and his Family shew'd to the Reform'd, how comes it to affect these gentle Dispositions, and who we see confirm'd to them, so often their former Priviledges, and Pacifications, which if they had wholly violated and evacuated, it still shews, that Catholick Princes can be suppos'd inclin'd from the Principles of *Nature*, to *Toleration* and *Indulgence*; and it must be somewhat extraordinary, and *preternatural*, that prevails with them to *Tyrannise* (to make use of *Maximilians* Words) over *Consciences*, and invade the very *Prerogative of the Court of Heaven*; what ever other Kings or Emperors have done and acted against the Rules of Religion, or *Justice*, must certainly be most *injuriously* imputed to those that have been guilty of no such doings, or not known whether they will ever do so,

1612.

*Vid. Reflect.*  
pag. 3.

*Nihil aliud  
est quam Cœ-  
li arcem inva-  
dere, Guber-  
let. ut supra.*

much less to such who do declare against it, and shew that most evidently they disapprove it; the Dr. would fasten Persecution I fancy upon Catholick Princes, not only as a Principle of *Merit*, but a Species of *Original Sin*, and so make all Contract the Guilt of it by *Imputation*; for otherwise Arguments drawn from *particulars*, can never conclude *universally*, much less from the *single* instance of the severities of *France*, to infer an absolute necessity for its being so here in *England*, when even among the *Primitive* Persecutions, there were those Emperors, that favour'd the Christians; and it can never be admitted to conclude from the rage of a *Nero*, a *Dioclesian*, that never a *Titus*, a *Vespasian*, did ever reign at *Rome*; both *CHARLES*, and *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* may be condemned in History, for their severe Proceedings, when a *Maximilian* as much fam'd for his *mildness*, and *gentle* Disposition.

But to follow our celebrated Author in his next Historical Instance, *Matthias* mounted the Imperial Throne, as soon almost as *Rudolphus* left it; he had a Disposition to mildness, as the Dr. himself observes; and in the First Year of his Reign, receiv'd the Protestants Petition about the Confirmation of their Religion at *Regenspurg*; and when afterward by *Matthias*, his means, *Ferdinand* the Second of that Name, that succeeded him, was made King of *Bohemia*, he was forc'd to confirm to them all their Priviledges, and to promise the continuance of them after the death of *Matthias*, and that which truly influenced this Emperor, or rather incens'd him to the Proceedings that follow'd, Was not the *Jesuites*, whom the Dr. cannot spare, even where they are unconcern'd; or the Violences of the House of *Gratz*; for Chronicles of  
theirs

theirs can tell us, that even a *Cardinal*, and one of the Emperor *Matthias* his Privy-Counsellors was on the very Coronation day, when this *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* was Crown'd King of *Hungary*, sent Prisoner to *Tyrol*, for endeavouring to stir up those Divisions that after followed: The first Beginnings of which, (as a \* *German* and a *Lutheran* observes, and which from such an impartial Author, for the sake of the reform'd Religion I am so sorry to relate) were occasion'd by this Disorder: The Protestants held a Consultation at *Prague*, where among some of their Grievances was propos'd, That the Edicts of *Rudolphus* which we recited before, not being by the Catholics strictly kept, for their being bound to a better Observance, the Reform'd did agree to represent it at a Meeting of the Imperial Ministers to be redress'd; but finding there \*two Men of Note to withstand them, and to make much of Opposition, they were so incens'd, that they took occasion to throw both these Persons out at Window, as they stood next to the Secretary *Fabritius* himself, Firing at them as they fell; upon this great Outrage, which could not but with more force be defended, they united immediately into a League of Lives and Fortunes against *G O D's*, the *King's* Enemies, as they call'd them, and their own; went *streight* to the Listing of Souldiers, order'd 30 Directors or Administrators for the management of the Affairs of the Kingdom, and as if incens'd with *Dr. B.* against the whole *Society*, banisht all the *Jesuites* out of *Bohemia*, and publish'd a Manifesto to justify these Outragious Proceedings; the Emperor *Matthias* as mild as he was; as gentle even as our prejudiced *Dr.* can allow him, could not but resent these great Indignities, be alarm'd at the Disturbances that were made,

\* *Schultz.*  
Chron.

\* *SmirfanzKy.*  
& *St. Labara.*

made and provide against a total *Revolt* and *Rebellion*, that did more than threaten him by being already *commenc'd*, those of *Silesia* siding with them, sent under the Marquiss of *Brandenburg* a considerable Force to their Assistance; Count *Mansfeld* set up for their General; and it was time then for the Emperor to seek out for his; his *mildness* had try'd to make them before to lay down their Arms; and so for their persisting in Hostility, had the more right to declare them *Rebels*; they had besieged the *Budeweis* before the Emperor had order'd to proceed against them as such, and taken another Town by Storm, and even of his Intentions to attack them, gave them timely notice, when nothing could prevail with the *Bohemians*, and the Emperour bear nothing more; the Count de *Bucquoy* march'd against them, and in Battle beat them, and in this, in thus manner, began that *curst Disturbance*, as our Author calls it, that cost all *Germany* so dear: This Account I have faithfully translated from our *Dutch* Authors Chronology, their own Country-man, their own Protestant; who laments the very Disturbance themselves created, and all the Miseries and Misfortunes that so justly follow'd; Dr. *Heylin*, an Historian, as sam'd too for Reformation; as our Reflector we Revy on, as much a Member of the CHURCH of ENGLAND, and whatever are the Censures he must suffer, an Author as honest and sincere, and only more impartial, he gives us his sence of these Transactions, to this effect: Discourfing of that more Memorable Battle of *Prague* that follow'd afterward in *Ferdinand* the *Seconds* Time, to which he even himself was forc'd; for he before had admonish'd them to lay down their Arms; says, he cannot decide who had the justice

*Vid* also *Sleidan*.

ffer Cause neither ought success of War to decide it, but of this he's sure that ever since the erecting of that Kingdom by the *Slaves*, or *Groatians*, it depended upon the disposal of the Emperor, and observes that on the day that the Battle was decided, the Gospel appointed for it, had in it that Memorable Text of *rendering unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsars*; but such is that inconsiderate Zeal, præpossession or downright Sedition of some that set themselves only to contest it with a Crown, that the specious names of *Reformation* and *Religion* must sanctify any sort of *Rebellion* and *Revolt*; 'tis too much one would think, that it should excuse it, much less, make it lose its *Nature*, and forget its *Name*: The good Emperor *Matthias*, soon after the first Defeat was given them, to which he was by their own Confession forc'd, departed this *Life*, and left *Ferdinand* a more furious Prince in Military Matters, and more zealous in Ecclesiasticals, to follow and pursue it.

This producing of such a Popish Prince for a president of *Perfidiousness*, and *Persecution*, whom himself confesses so *mild*, and relenting as to become a Protector to the *Distressed States*, even to *revolting* Protestants against a *vengeful* Prince, will make men distrust the weight of such an Argument that carries *Contradiction* and *Boldness* in triumph before it. The Dr. does not deserve the *Protection* of the *Dutch* for defaming thus their best of *Protectors*; but he deals with him as kindly here for the sake of his *Religion*, as the *Dutch*, his new *Masters* themselves did, when he assisted them in the defence of their *Liberties*, for they fell upon him and his Followers, in a solemn Procession at *Antwerp*, on Ascension day, kill'd some upon the place, forc'd their Defender to fly to the Church,

Vid. his Geography of that Country.

Fam. Strad. de Bello Belg. Pag. 56.

Nullam ab or-  
dinibus gra-  
tiam conse-  
cutus est.  
Ibid. p. 210.

Church, and take sanctuary for his Life; 'tis hard I confess, to decide whither it was the result of Zeal in the Reformation; I will not say of the *spirit of Rebellion*, but this is certain this *Protestor* was very scurvily treated, and but ill us'd, inasmuch, that he protested if they serv'd him so, he'd leave them to themselves, and return into *Germany*; which afterward for other indignities offer'd, he was forc'd to do.

But this Author I cite, being one of the *Society*, will supersede all *Credit* with the Dr.; for *Prejudice* with some people will spoil the best of *Authority*; but then the most impartial \**Thuanus*, whose sincerity, even himself has applauded, I hope will be better believ'd, and truly he says but the same, that this Catholick Defender of the Protestant Cause, had but little thanks for that *Assistance*, which of his own accord he brought the States; if Protestants will not be oblig'd to *Roman-Catholick* Princes for Redress, or Preservation, pray don't let the *Fact* be libell'd, and their *Principles* traduc'd against *positive Proof*, as if they were alway ready to root them out, and study'd to destroy them. Here are Presidents from History, and such too, as that to some of them, *himself* does give a sort of Approbation, that in former Reigns, in *foreign* Countries; where the *Catholick* Religion has been generally receiv'd, that by Princes of *that* Perswasion, the *Protestants* too, have been countenanced and protected; and the Peace we here do now enjoy at this present, in this Kingdom, in the same Circumstances, and the thankful Acknowledgments that are so universal for its Enjoyment, is an Additional Evidence, That the Dr. may be mistaken in his Arguments from *Fact*, as well as malicious in his Inferences,

\* Neq; mag-  
nam gratiam  
ob delatam  
ultra copiam  
ab ordinibus  
consecutus est  
Tom. 3. Pag.  
514. B. Genev.

Vid. par. 3.

Inferences, when they truly will appear both spiteful and false; so that his seditious Insinuations against His Majesty's *Indulgence*, and his ungrateful Dealing with the *KING*, that as he says, *advis'd him once of his approaching Danger, help'd him to prevent it*, and perhaps, *protected him too*, are no more an Argument against the *Mildness* and Clemency that may be expected under the Reign of our merciful Monarch, then his Masters Ancestors ill *usage* of Archduke *Matthias*, can be made *use* of to prove they never had such a generous Protector.

*Vid. Vindicat.*  
of himself a-  
gainst the *Par-*  
*liam. Pacific.*  
pag. 7.

But setting aside these Presidents of the *German* Princes that were so favourable to Protestants; consider but the Cases and Circumstances of those Emperors that were condemn'd for such Severities to them; those that are said so much to have violated their Faith; and for that you'll find even *Charles the Fifth*, and *Ferdinand the Second*, if impartially examin'd, not to deserve so much of Reproach; in the Reign of the *First*, the Protestant Religion began to be receiv'd in *Germany*, and with that Monarch might be said to commence; for tho *Luther* was born long before in *Frederick the Third's* Time, it was but a Year or two before *Charles the Fifth*, that he began to write against the *POPE*, which whether the result of *Passion*, or *Conviction* of *Reason*, we shall not now examin; but only the Princes *Usage* of him, and his *Proselytes*. The most impartial Author among the \*Papists tell us, that upon the propagating of his Doctrin, and the Troubles it created in the Empire; that the Emperor labour'd to compose the Differences with all the Mildness imaginable, *promis'd* them a *Council*, and that 'twas known to all, what Pains he took to procure it; *Sleidanus* a *German* himself,

1517

\*Thuan. *Tom.*  
1. p. 762. Ne-  
minem latere  
quantos labo-  
res in concilio  
procurendo  
suscepit.

one of the Primitive Profelytes, a Protestant, that liv'd all along that Reign; and so had all the Qualifications in the World, that can recommend him to those of the reform'd Religion for a sincere Historian (since some People will believe nothing but what is writ on their side): I cannot see that he represents even that Emperor for such an Oppressor of the Protestants; tho' any impartial Person would consider that any Sovereign Authority will for its own Preservation oppose any Novel Opinion in the \* *Church*; to prevent the Disturbances that will unavoidably follow from the Propagating of it in the *State*, and whatever were the *good* Effects of the Reformation, that some of these *bad* ones did ensue, cannot certainly with any modesty be deny'd: The Emperor was so mild upon *Luther's* first appearing against *Indulgences* that were made too *venial* in *Germany*, by being too commonly *sold*, (which even sober Catholics in those times could condemn, where they were abus'd) he writ to the Pope, \* that for avoiding of Controversies, and sophistical Disputes, these Matters might be Reform'd by a *general Council*; which certainly was a much better way, all Protestants must allow then, that which *Luther* took by making but an unhappy Breach in the *Church*; for Reformation with *Authority* and *Warrant* will ever be built on a *better* Foundation; and then too much *sooner* defended, than any good that is done, tho' the *greatest*; by any ill and indirect means; why Fryar *Tecell's* selling of Pardons so indiscriminately, even to a scandal, should make him renounce his Religion, or *Sylvesters* a strict *Thomist*, too zealous defence of the Popes Authority, make *Rome* presently the Seat of *Anti-Christ*, as he \* calls it, and warrant him to forsake the *Church*,

if

\*Dr. B. him-  
excuses this,  
Mid. Preface  
to *Lanham*. a-  
gainst the first  
Reformation.

*Sleidan*. lib. 1.  
\* Dr. B. owns  
the Emperour  
granted a To-  
leration, and  
pres'd the  
Council of  
*Trent* to Re-  
form Abuses.  
*Reform. part* 2.  
p. 21. And  
notwithstand-  
ing this, the  
Protestants  
Combin'd at  
*Franckfort*.

\* A Discourse  
like his Table  
Talk. printed  
with Authori-  
ty in *Higb-*  
*Emch*.

*if these escape with impunity*, as himself did with Threatnings declare, I cannot comprehend; yet tho' upon these Foundations, we still see the Emperor permitted it to go on *peaceably*, \* tho' he labour'd too, that it might more *regularly*; for doubtless the *Pope's* condemning of *Luther's Works* to be *burnt*, did not empower him to *burn* the *Pope's* Decretals, no more than if a *Libel* of Dr. B's. should receive such a Sentence, it would authorise him in the same manner to serve the *KING's Proclamation*. The *Church-men*, doubtless *then*, (as if concern'd them, being *then* of the *only Church establish'd*) were very zealous for the suppressing of *Luther*, and his Profelytes; but we do not find the Empr. too so furious in their Prosecution; he told them to their Applications that they made him, that he chiefly coveted the *Quiet* of the Empire, and that he had taken pains no Force should be used to any man; *National Councils* he called them *several*, to which they would *never* submit, and did wisely to *protest*, since they were sure to be *out Voted*: he allowed *Luther* a publick Disputation at *Leipfig*, sent him an assurance of Security to come to *Worms*, and when some *Zealous Church-men* perswaded the Emperor to order him his Process, they were so far from prevailing, that he smartly told them, *Though there was no Faith in the World, it should be found in his Breast*: I suppose the Dr. would not use this too, as an infallible Argument for all *Catholick KINGS* being compell'd by their *Religion*, to *violate* their *Faith*: His *Ausburg* Confessions were at that Town graciously receiv'd by him, and order'd to be taken into Examination; he himself condescended to the *Interim*; in which were two Points gain'd, or granted, tho' obstinately refus'd, the *Marriage of the Priests*, and

\* He stoppt the Process at *Spire*; the *Bishop of Toledo* pres'd a condescension from the *Papists*; and the *Emperour* perswaded the *Protestants* not to demand too much. *Vid. Dr. B's Reformation.*

1521.

Schultz. Chro.

\* *Bucer* in his Zeal, would not submit to this, tho' some of the Electors lik'd it, and modest *Melancthon* moderated for an Accommodation: A Conference was appointed, *Lutherans*, and *Zuinglians* fall out among themselves, which Dr. B. calls a popish Contrivance.  
Part. 2. L. 2.

the *Sacraments in both kinds*; \* and such a Favour it was too to the Protestants, so highly resent'd by the Pope, that he threatned the Emperor for usurping his Authority, and offering to reform the Church; and as the *Ausburg* Confession was confirm'd, so the Pacification of *Passaw* was in his Reign procur'd; and if we reflect on *Ferdinand* the *Seconds* Reign, the Protestants were in Arms, when he came to the Crown, he commanded them to lay them down, they oppose his being Emperor, protested against his Election, chuse their King of *Bohemia*; and thus they fann'd the Fire that set all the Country in a *Flame*, and to continue it too; at the Dyet of *Leipfig*, league themselves to War with the *Swedes*, when at the same time the Emperor at another at *Ratisbone*, had made Proposals for Peace; and the Violations that at any time follow'd, were occasion'd by mutual Jealousies on both sides; the Protestant Party growing powerful, and Princes falling with them into Leagues, made the Emperors look more to the preservation of their Authority, than their Subjects *Priviledges*; and they thinking themselves injur'd in them, would remonstrate their *Grievances*; and the Emperors complain their Preachers were the occasion of Commotions, that they sided with their Enemies, \* and those of *Christendom*, and as *Teckely* now, with the *Turks*; and perhaps, each Party having its real Faults, as well as human Infirmities, fell from inward Fears of one another, to open Hostility, even to the lamentable Effusion of too much Christian Blood; this is sincerely the substance I can Collect from Authors of all sorts of Complexions, which the Dr's. Endeavours to defame His Majesty's Person and Religion, has in this Point given me occasion to Consult.

\* Vid. *Sleidan*.  
Com. Lib. 7.  
& 17.

Dr. B. owns the Emperors declar'd they made no War upon any Religious Accounts, but only for the maintaining of the Rights of the Empire.  
1st. Part. L. 1.

SECT.

## S E C T. VI.

AS these Instances were *foreign* to our Nation, *vid. Reflect.* and *his* Purpose too, for they make *against* him; *Pag. 3.* and since so unlucky, he had better let it alone; so we will consider his more *domestick* Examples, and examin how far these Presidents of *Perfidiousness* and *Falseness* which he would fix on the Popish Princes of Great Britain, make for his Purpose.

The Promises of Queen Mary of England, whatever they were, were only made to the Suffolk Men, if any made; for besides what are related \* in History, no publick Act under Her hand appears; and the Dr. knows His *Present Majesty* in the very *First* Act of His Reign, and in *several* repeated Proclamations since has solemnly sign'd it, and so signify'd it to the whole Kingdome, and the World; though his sacred Word was sufficient without such an Overt Act to secure us: But besides, I know Dr. B. values himself so much upon his understanding of History, especially about Reformation, that the Times to which he would apply his *Comparative* Reflections, as they are very *distant*, so too of a quite *different* Face and Complexion to what they were in *Her* Dayes; will the Dr. make no difference in the settling of the Protestant Religion, between the settlement of the Six Years of King *Edward's* Reign; and about an \*Hundred and Thirty that have followed since, sure he is satisfy'd of the vast Disparity; he seems almost assur'd that his elaborate Writings will secure

\* They all borrow it from Fox, who himself recites no Declaration that She Publish'd to that purpose; but only *Oral Tradition*; and That with some People has no *Authority*.

\* From A. D. 1558. to the present.

as against the *repealing* the *Tests*, (or else they are pen'd to no Purpose;) and then can he expect that an Act for *Re-establishing Popery*, should pass (as in her Reign) in the First Parliament. The Reformation in the former Reign was really a force, and what all impartial Protestants, can apprehend, carried on even *sacrilegiously* by the Court to serve some secular designs; tho' the consequences of their *ill* means might be *truly good*; and perhaps in my opinion will ever be so; 'twas easiethen for her, without any breach upon Laws, Statutes, and Constitutions, to retrieve and establish a Religion that had been from all Ages receiv'd, and only for six years discontinu'd, yet still we saw, as appears from her \*Proclamation, she so far adher'd to any promise she might have made that she declar'd, she would never compel any of her Subjects in Matters of Religion, till by their common consent they had oblig'd themselves, that they did so, is too well known, both Houses putting up a Petition in the Name of the Kingdom, to the Cardinal to be receiv'd again into the Church of *Rome*; and this a Parliament that none have yet offer'd to prove, was procur'd by any *indirect means*; so that it plainly appears, that Laws will alway depend upon the general opinion of the People; and as they could not find then an House of Commons to restore the *Church-Land*; so it will as hardly be got now, for restoring the Religion.

The Reflection he makes on the Queen-Regent of *Scotland* for *breach of Promise*, comes after examination of her History, and the Transactions of her Reign; in which she was then but a Princess subordinate, to the Criminating of those her very accusers; and the substance of it, *sincerely* this: After the death of Cardinal \**Beaton* (who by the way was as barbarously murder'd;

\* Publisht 18.  
Aug. 1553.

Spotswood I. 2.

der'd;) the sufferings of some persons † for Religion, which himself from his function in the Church, had too Zealously set a foot, many of the Commonalty began to Conspire against the Government; and at last Seven or Eight of the Nobility, took upon them to make an Act of *Reformation*: I confess had it been done in a more *Parliamentary* way, it might have been more Authentick: this Queen-Regent was so far from proceeding against them as Criminals, which doubtless she might have done, it being a manifest Usurpation, if not plain Rebellion; that she gave a favourable ear to their proposals, tho' the *Clergy* that were then *Establisht*, you may be sure perswaded her to the contrary; she offer'd all things to be redress'd in a *Parliamentary* way; but Zeal being seldom attended with the greatest Prudence and Deliberation, they fell into open Ryots before she could find a way to please them; disturb'd a Procession, to which her self was present; demolisht Monasterys, pull'd down Images, and overturn'd Altars; till at *Perth* they appear'd in open Rebellion, and up in Arms; what promises the Queen there made, are as well known, as the manner how she was forc't to make them. They threatned her, if she would not accept of their Accord, or did ever violate and break it, they would joyn unanimously to *depose* her; *Knox* the Great Incendiary setting them on, and made them *confederate* into a perfect League: and I believe this too was as *absolute* a Power as was ever seen in *Scotland*, or into the Low Countries, sent from *Spain*. After this pacification at *Perth*, the Lords of the *Congregation*, who were always the first in the field convene their forces again at *Coupers-Moore*; Besiege the Town of *Perth*, force it to surrender, sack Abbys, subvert Monasterys, and sacrilegiously spoil all that was sacred.

† The Burning only of Mills; an old Priest; *vid.* Dr. B's 2. Vol.

*Vid.* also *Fon's* History.

*Vid.* *Refect.* Parag. 4.

*sacred*; and all this without any regard of any *Duty* to their *Sovereign*, or *Reverence* to their *GOD*.

The strictest of our *Casuits*, even in a common person ever resolv'd all obligations void, that are occasion'd by *terror* and *Constraint*, and the *Dr.* need not have recourse again to the *society*; I know the lewdness of some \* *Politicians* have extended the Obligations of *Kings & Princes* to a greater latitude from their publick Concerns, than in Conscience can be allow'd to *Common Subjects*: I am so far from that *Sacrilegious* thought, that I think the *Sacred*, and *exalted* Characters they bear, obliges them only more *highly*; and that to a stricter Obedience, tho' still where Subjects can't be said to *sin*, 'tis hard to make our *Princes* *Peccant*; why does not the *Dr.* prove that this *Regent*, or her Daughter the *real* *Queen* did break their *promises* too, when they assum'd their *just* Authority, after they had both been so *injuriously* brought to renounce it; but in this very case the *Reflector* had better spar'd his *Animadversion*, since it was one of the *Articles* too at *Edenburgh*, that there should be no injury done to the *Catholic Churches*, which the *Queen* complain'd of, was as soon violated; but, since nothing will please some People, but arguments, such as the *Schools* call *ad hominem*; nor even those neither, when the *man's* mind is alter'd; does the *Dr.* think, that if *King Charles* the First, had been forced to the *Nineteen Propositions*, to the utter Subverting of the Church of *England*, it would by their *Casuits* have been adjudg'd an *Indispensable* Obligation, they could not think it so in the case of the *Covenant*, which the *King* (to whose *memory* the *Dr.* has such a *Kindness*) even in those Countries is said to have taken. But to see how these *faithful* *Reformers* dealt with their *Queen*, that must be up-

*Machiavel*  
and *Hobbs*.

Upbraided for the violating of her *Faith*. After they had been the occasion of breaking some of those Accords (for which none but their *Sovereign*, it seems must suffer;) they left this Queen so little *power* to break her *promise* to them in matters of their Religion, that she had *none* left to maintain her own; for at a Conference at *Preston* she desired only the celebration of the Mass in the place where she resided, and even that was deny'd her. But to go further yet; tho' Allegiance be a sort of *Faith* too, and a most *profound promise*, which either the Municipal Law requires us, or our Birth-right commands us to obey, that being also an old Oath observ'd in our Court-Leets, if we were not ty'd to our more modern ones, made since for some more Designing Ends; (setting aside those slight obligations to their Sovereign) they consulted for such Oracles of the *Law*, those Reformers of the *Gospel*, *Knox*, and his followers, about the *deposing* of this Queen from her *Regency*; inasmuch, that \*this Reverend Author, a Metropolitan in this Church establish'd, honestly represents it as a Scandal to the very Reformation; they burl'esqu'd the very Bible, *to place the Power in the People*; so that if their Religious Interpretations of the *New Testament* were not more agreeable to the Truth, than their political Constructions upon the \* *Old*, Protestants would be asham'd of the very Doctrines they profess'd; they *depos'd* this Queen Regent with a *Jure Divino*, and the Prince instead of that was deny'd to have *any at all*; and to save the Dr. another Reflection, the Case was the same here, as if She had been an *absolute* Queen, themselves acknowledg'd it in the very Fact, for the other being out of their hands, they were forc'd to have recourse to another Principle of *Democracy* to proceed upon,

G

By

\* *Sporwood's*  
H.R.

\* The Cases  
of *Acha. &*  
*Macha. Febu,*  
*& Jerom.* Cited then by  
*Willock, &*  
*Knox*, for de-  
posing of the  
Queen.  
*Ibid. Lib. 3.*

By Vertue of that Authority of their Queen in France, with which She had never yet impowred them; they deposed that Queen Regent in Scotland, which Her self had authorised; and this perhaps might be truly call'd the Courting of a Common-wealth Party; but if that won't serve the Turn, it is as well known their Hereditary Queen was serv'd so too; 'tis too much to upbraid a Princess with a Breach of Promise to such Subjects who violated almost all that was Sacred, and only to sack the Town wherein their Sovereign resided, turn'd their very Temple into an Armory, and Magazine, made the Church truly Militant; and their Doctrin in the literal Sense, an Evangelicall Armation; but yet to add after all this Dr. B's Aspersions, the better Authority of a Bishop of his Church; he that writes the History of it, gives this Regent a more agreeable Character, and honestly represents Her as one that avoided always giving any Occasion to those Troubles of the Kingdom, That her Dexterity was chiefly in Composing the Tumults, and pacifying the North, and that She was the greatest Lover of Justice and Equity; and condemns mightily the History of Kneen, from whose Work our Author borrowed the Blemishes that he has cast upon Her, and who in abusing of his own Prince and Country, cannot have better Associates, than Burnet and Buchanan. This habitual Excellencies of our Adversary, consisting so eminently in the Defamation of Princes, and especially his own, I wonder how his Hereditary Queen of Scotland could escape him; and that the Breach of Promise had not brought about all her Misfortunes too: by his way of writing, he had not been bound to consider, That when She was coming over from France, tho' so solicited by the Queen of England, She would not ty her self to any

Promissory

Lib. 3.

Vid. Spots.  
wood. Lib., 3.

*Promissory* Obligations to confirm any of the former Ratifications, and to justify Her *Rebellious* Subjects, which She told to *Throgmorton* for a Message to his *Mistress*, and tis to be with'd for the Credit of our *English* Nation, and the Protestant Religion, that *That* *Princes* had kept Her *Promises* too with the *Queen* of *SEOTS*.

## S E C T. VII.

AS for the *Politicks* of *France*, as they make a *Book* by themselves, so this Author might have omitted them for any Argument they are against *mine*; for in *that* I had observ'd the great difference that there is \* in the Constitution of *that* Government, and our *own*, the vast Disparity between the Temper of the *Two* Princes, that at present govern, the Multitude, and mighty Majority of *Catholicks* in the *One*, and of *Protestants* in the *Other*; these sort of Suggestions with sober Men, and unprejudic'd may be so prevalent, as to satisfy them, that a Protestant Persecution is not to soon let drop *here*, where we see even those that fly from it there so graciously receiv'd, and by the supreme Authority more especially provided for; let but Dr. B's Concessions that secure the \* *Grilons*, the *Schwyzers*, and some Principalities in *Germany* take place, and from his *own* Arguments they are safe, since the *Want* of *Power*, and the *Circumstances* of *Affairs* will prevent any Danger.

The Massacre of *Paris* the Dr. knows was by most of the *Roman Catholicks* condemn'd & the truest & best Account we have of it, is from one of their *own* Authors, and of that Religion too; it was, as from him will appear,

Reflections  
pag. 3.

Vid. Parl. Pa-  
cific.

Vid. Reflect.  
Parag. 4.

the deplorable Effects of a long Civil War, and the passionate Revenge that was coveted by some great Persons; with an eternal Animosity between the Two Houses; that inspir'd them first with such Bloody Thoughts, which afterward was turn'd against the Protestants in general, and like a Flame, dilated it self into Destruction before it could be stop't: The Occasions of this vast Effusion of Blood, the Dr. will repent that ever he touch'd upon, and even against my will has forc'd me to repeat; it will be none of the greatest Credit to their Reformation in *France*, to recapitulate the manner of its carrying on, and we had better be contented with its *Establishment*, than examine the manner how it came to be thus *establish'd*; but since by his unjust Reflection, *Princes* and their *Religion*; their *Sacred Person*, and *Christianity* it self is brought to suffer; I must confess it has extorted from me that Truth, which from the Circumstances of our Affairs, and in kindness to some People, I could have sooner conceal'd: The Dr. must know then that I will not *Justify* Kings, and Countries, just as he *Libels*; them only with a *Reflection*; but as the forgoing *Defences* I have made, are founded upon their Epitomy, and impartial Histories, and Matter of Fact; so he'll find perhaps *France* too, may much in the same manner be *defended*; we shall not have recourse to their *Antiquated Reformers*, those of *Waldo*, or the *Albigenses*, though shedding of Blood was brought up in their time too, when with no little Barbarity countenanced by the Earl of *Tholouse*, they *basely* murder'd their *Viscount* in the City of *Beziers*, dash'd out the *Teeth* of their *Bishop*, and almost his *Brains* too, to whom his own Church could hardly be a *Sanctuary*; for which *Insolencies*, to give

it

in the *softest* Term, (and as Protestant Authors \* say, many more of the same sort) *Lewis* the Ninth, was necessitated by force of Arms to suppress them; of a long War, and the much Blood that it cost; the Catholicks alone, cannot with any Justice be brought to bear the blame, since there were no *promises* then made by the *Prince*, nor any *Society* to teach him *Reserves*.

\* Br. N.

A. D. 1517.

The times we shall touch upon, were when *Luthers* Opinions first took place there, but not without as great a disturbance to the State; for *Innovations* tho' introduc'd for *improvement*, and *Reformation*; must unavoidably create *Troubles* and *Confusions*; nay, tho' there be nothing really *new*, but only some alteration of *Old* Customs, by bare Omission; and receding from former Opinions hitherto receiv'd; these sorts of *Mutations*, being look'd upon as *Novel*, attract the consideration of those whom it may Concern; forms immediately a Party or a Sect, which sets up in opposition to that which is *Establisht*; and *political* bodies, like to those that are truly *natural*; having this common principle, to endeavour for their *own preservation*, there must unavoidable be great conflicts between that Party that would *retain* its Power, and that which in spite of it would *aspire* to it: our *Henry* the *Eighth* in's Reign, the first great Example amongst us, of such a scene of Change and Animosity, did himself best *experience* and *describe* it too; and had some occasion to say, that some peoples standing so stiff to their *old Mumpsumus*, and others so Zealous for their *new Sumpsumus*, had occasion'd a great deal of confusion in his Kingdom; and I think so too, tho' *himself* too was the most improper person in the world, to pass the Animadversion; for certainly, if any Party can be answerable, for the *Ill* consequences, that attend an *Alteration*, tho' the pre-  
tence

tence be *never* so good, it must in Justice be charg'd on that which gives the occasion to the *Change*; there can be no *Innovation* either in a *Church* and *State*, without Invading somewhat of a *right*, either of *Antiquity*, and *Prescription*; *Possession* and the *Law*: now I never met with a *Legislator* yet, but what did allow him to be always in the *wrong*, that invaded another man's *Right*; and the Notion we have got in our Noddles of our Parliamentary power being able to do all this, and almost any thing; I believe some people will at present be loath to allow, tho' very well pleas'd with the *Latitude* it took in our Original Reformation; our Common Law did ever justify a *Lay-man* in the defence of his *Inheritance*, and his *House*; and if I mistake not, our *Magna Charta* made *That* \* *Church* to have her *Priviledges* and *Patrimony* too, and provides especially that they be kept *unviolat*e; *when a strong man Armed keepeth his Palace, his Goods are in peace; but when a stronger man shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all wherein he trusted, and divideth the Spoil*, and I wish I could not apply it here to the *Revenues* of our *Church*. And this, perhaps you'll find was like to have been the *Case* in *France* too: *Francis* the First of that Kingdom, having a mind to be *Famous*, took the wisest way to make himself so; by sending abroad for Men of Learning, whose Pens might transmit his fame, with more advantage to *Posterity*; expecting I suppose, no Authors, could then be met with, that would write the *Memoirs* of their Monarch only to vilify him to *Future Ages*: this encouragement, you may be sure, drew a great concourse from all *Countrys*, upon promise of being incorporated too, into a *University* at *Paris*; *Luther* was then a *Reformer* in *Germany*, where already they had \* fallen out amongst them-

\* So that his relying on that *Charter* for the present *Church*, does it the greatest disservice. *Vid. Apolog.*

\* The *P. Palatine* from *Luther* to *Zuing.* from *Suing.* to *Luther*, &c.

*themselves*, as well as with the *Emperors*. He takes this  
 occasion to send *Bucer*, and some of the best of his fol-  
 lowers thither, to propagate the Doctrine; where for  
 about ten Years they Flourish'd, under the counte-  
 nance of the Kings \* Sister, and Wife to the King of  
*Navar*, who, you may be sure, could have no kindness  
 for the Pope, that had depriv'd her Husband; but the  
 troubles these Innovations created to the Kingdom, and  
 the contumacious carriage, and attempts they shew'd  
 against the Church, from the Countenance of that angry  
 Queen, provok'd the King so far, that even her Power  
 could not protect them from feeling his Resentment;  
 so that by several Edicts their Preachers were expel'd,  
 & the name of *Luther* very nearly lost & extinguish'd;  
 but *Calvin* comes on and had better success; for he be-  
 ing so debonair, as to be able to write to them in *French*;  
 their own idioms, & the Vulgar tongue, and it could not  
 but tickle the common sort, from hardly *understanding* it,  
 to be made *Judges* in Religion; so that all his doctrines  
 could not but go down, as indeed they did; and spread so  
 fast, that *Hen. the Second* was alarm'd at it, as any  
 Prince would to find a Party become so formidable,  
 as to oppose the Church that was then establish'd by  
*Law*. This made him endeavour to suppress them.  
 Amidst these Troubles the King dies, and the Mino-  
 rity of his Son *Francis* soon rais'd them again to their  
 former Vigor, and that the whole Kingdom did af-  
 terward sufficiently feel; for in this Conjunction, the  
 Greatness of the House of *Guise* animating that of  
*Bourbon* to Rebel; the Duke of *Vendosme*, and Prince  
 of *Conde* disgusted and slighted, drew in the Two *Cha-  
 silions*, Admiral *Coligny*, and Mr. *D'Andilot*; these  
 discontented Courtiers Consulting together, found  
 no expedient so agreeable to promote their Designs,

\* *Margueret  
 de valois.*

1559.

as

as the drawing in of the *Hugonots* into the Conspiracy, and by making themselves the Head of them; and though the Duke de *Vendosme* did for a long time dislike it; it was so carryed on by *Conde*, *Coligny*, and his Brother, that in short, the *Hugonots* were drawn in to *Unite*, and *League* themselves under the Princes of that House; and this is that *League of Union*; (our Author shall call it which he pleases) that by me was plainly meant, into which the Protestants enter'd; and not that of the Papists which was long after; and I wish Dr. B. only more foresight, when he would Libel \* and Invade my *Sincerity*, they rais'd Men, Monies, and Ammunition, come to *Blois*, with *Petitions* in one hand, and *Swords* in the other, with an intent to seize the King and Queen, and put the *Guises* to the Sword; this would have been a little Massacre too; but the Court having intimation of it, was remov'd to the strong Castle of *Amboise*; there they come too, to pursue the design; but the D. of *Guise*, being made Lieutenant, ordered the matter so, that they were all routed, and *Renaudy* the chief of the Rebels kill'd: \* this, tho' of their own seeking, set all the rest of the Neighbouring Provinces in a flame; they seiz'd upon Catholick Churches by force, w<sup>ch</sup> if *Calvin* himself could call *rashness*, the Romanist's might well *Rebellion*, the same outrages they committed at *Avignon*; so that at an Assembly at *Fountainbleau*, it was thought best to make some favourable Edict in their behalf; but this, I hope will not excuse them from the blood that was spilt before, or the Insurrection that was made, since they

\* Vid. Reflect.  
parag. 4.

Vid. Heylin's  
History of  
Presbyt. 1. 2.

\* Mark, that this business of *Amboise* is by *Meteren*, whom our Author admires so much, as to quote none other, made only a matter of Petitioning of unarm'd People, where it is plain, that though the Petitioners went into the Castle without Arms, their armed men attended them to the Gates, & were afterward by the Duke of *Guise* defeated, and some Protestant writers can magnifie the *Clemency* of the King to the Prisoners, and the *discreet* temper of the *Guises*.

they prided themselves in it, and glory'd in the Consternation they had cast on the Kingdom; and without considering their Obligation to the Edict, presently after, concluded to seile upon some of the most considerable Towns in *France*, and even *Paris* it self, to depose the *Queen*, remove the *Guises*, and get *Navar*, and *Conde* to be Governors to the *KING*: This Plot was carry'd so far, that they mutined in most Towns against the Magistrates; and the Prince almost had made himself Master of *Lyons*; but his Project being discovered, he was made Prisoner at *Orleanse*, his process form'd, himself condemn'd, and had as certainly been executed too, had not *Francis* the *Second* at the same time dy'd, and so altered the Constitutions of the State, and the Measures of the Court; for the *Queen* Her self now began to be as much afraid of the growing Greatness of the *Guises*, comes to an Agreement with the King of *Navarr*, that She shou'd be Regent, and himself Lieutenant of the Realm, that all Prisoners for Religion shou'd be releas'd, all Prosecution forborn; but these Favours to these Reformers made them more rebellious; insomuch, that they set upon the *CATHOLICKS* at their Sacrifices, pull'd them out of their Pulpits; insomuch, that at last the King of *Navarr* could not find in his heart any longer to defend them; and so it was resolv'd in a general Assembly at *Paris*, that their Ministers should be expell'd; and none but the Catholick Religion allow'd; after this they prevail'd at last at \**Poissy* for a Dispute, tho' the Council of *Trent* was then afoot for deciding any Differences, which as fairly as it is represented, and perhaps impartially, by Father *Paul*; and as foully by some that were more zealous and concern'd; yet certainly was a much better expedient for settling the Disputes in the Church; then

\*10 Aug. 1561

a private Assembly amongst themselves; where the Objection of *pact*, *partiality*, *contrivance*; the Clamours against that Council must needs with Aggravation recoil upon themselves; but the Result of this Divinity-Disputation was what usually attends such Polemical Debates, like a tryal of Skill, both sides boasted they had the best; but certain it is the King of *Navarr*, upon seeing the Differences among the Reform'd; some favouring the *Augustan*, others the *Helvetian* Confession, was the more confirm'd in the Catholick Faith: but the other side by their Boastings growing so popular, insomuch, that it was thought dangerous almost to disturb them, another Edict was granted or forc'd for a Pacification, which juncture of Affairs made the cunning Queen fall to favouring of them too; that even as the sense of a *Protestant* Author observes, a dignify'd Member in the *Church of England*; this *Prosperity of the Reformation was the Cause of all the Miseries and Misfortunes* that befel the Kingdom of *FRANCE*, to the *Ruine* almost of the *Realm*; their encreasing in *strength*, encreas'd so far the *Power* of the Prince of *Conde*, that his former Partner, the King of *Navarr*, made no Figure at all, which made him call in the Duke of *Guise* for his Assistance; and the Duke coming up, by the way, a Fray was commenced, by some of his Servants at a Protestant Sermon; the Duke coming to interpose, and part, was wounded by them himself, which so enrag'd some of his Souldiers and Followers, that about Sixty People were kill'd, the rest put to Flight; their Ministers being much of Dr. *Burnet's* Make, gave this out as a Design, and in all their Representations made it a Massacre; and for this occasional Fray, the most furious Out-rages must be justified, Monasteries pull'd down, Altars and Images defac'd, and

and the whole Land fill'd and polluted with blood; and it may be also observ'd here, that this too is made by *Meteran* a *design'd* Slaughter; and that the Duke came purposely to *disperse* and *destroy* them; but this *Author* confessing in his Preface his Prejudice against this most Catholick cause; it had been more consistent with *our Authors* sincerity in these Matters not to have medled with him.

*Vid Lib. 1.  
Pag. 28. 29.  
Turbat, trucidat, fugiatq;*

And now both Parties labour to *keep* or *get* the KING into their Power; the Prince of *Conde* took *Orleanse*, and the *Catholicks* the KING, and the Protestants in their New Conquest, Spoil all the Churches in the Town, but upon none more furious than that of *St. Croix*, as if the *Badge* of their Profession were the *Scandal* of *Christianity*; then this Religious Violence must be justified with a Manifesto, criminating the Catholick Lords for detaining the King and Queen, when both of them declared they did them no Violence, but assisted them with their Service and Duty; tho' the forementioned Author in the same place represents the Queen in the name of the young King, writing Letters to *Conde*, that they were under Restraint and Confinement, and that he should *come in* and relieve them, when it is known too, that She exhorted them to *come in* and return to their Obedience; and so far complying they were, that the Duke of *Guise* offer'd himself to a voluntary Exile, if they would but return, as the Queen desired, to their Obedience; and for that they had their Pardon offer'd and Favour too; but for all this, the Reformers go on, seize most of the chief Towns, sack the Churches for Silver for their Mint; and thus defac'd, made them fit for their Stables and Magazines; insisting upon insolent Demands, they were declar'd

*Traitors* if they did not desist by such a day: The Queen that had no such *abhorrence* of them before, now *detested* them, and began to think how She might *break* and *dissolve* them; for this She prevails with the Constable, and Duke of *Guise*, to go and retire from the Court; they so did, and *Conde* having promised the Queen to *return* to his *Obedience* if ever they did so, was now as much confounded at their unexpected *Retreat*, advis'd with his *Casuits*, the *Calvanist* Doctors what to do in the case, who *honestly* told him, *That he having made himself Head of their Union and League, no Obligation could bind him to any Promise*; that *Promises* were not to kept that did hinder the *Preaching of the Truth*; the Queen not bringing over the King to him as She promis'd; he was bound to keep none of his *Promises* to Her, and so could not be said to violate his Faith: These I think are *Promises* too, not very well kept, or as *ill* expounded; the Dr. might spare us for it some of his *Animadversions* on the *Reserves* of the *Society*, and the keeping no Faith with Hereticks, for they found out the best expedient of *Equivocation*, that the Duke might seem to keep his *Promise*, they ordered him to meet the Queen, and surrender himself; but withal, that the Admiral by Ambuscade should be ready, and surprise him, and so bring him back to the Camp. They resolv'd it too, that for the *Reformation* sake, no regard was to be had to their *Country*, and so invited in our *English* Aid of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had nearly made her self Master of *Normandy*. About this time the Duke of *Guise* was treacherously murder'd by *Politrot*, one of the *Reformers* that had insinuated himself into his Service and Family; and after another Edict granted in their Favour, they tumult again.

again to come up to the Pacification of *January*, and so fall again to their seising of Towns, and overturning of Churches; the zealous Queen of *Navar* encouraging them so far, that at *Pamiers*, on a *Corpus Christi* Day, upon a solemn Procession, they put themselves in *Arms*, fell upon the *unarm'd* Catholicks, made a great Slaughter among the Church-men; these escaping with impunity, encourag'd the like Bloodshed in several other places; this may be call'd a *little*, tho' not such a *famous Massacre*; and this day of *Corpus Christi* almost as dreadful as *St. Bartholomew*; which from the abhorrence I have of *both*, I can hardly think that Providence could permit such severe Retaliation: and to match the Dr's Observations on the *deposing Power*; about that time, a Book came out, and was publish'd by them, maintaining it lawful to kill the King if he *turn'd an Idolater*, and was follow'd by the most Antimonarchical Pieces, such as I am sure the *Society* never penn'd, or ever saw: and some Catholick Writers assert from the Confession of Prisoners that were rack'd, that they once had a Design to kill the King and Queen, and place the Crown on the Head of *Conde*; which from the partiality of the Authors, and the extortion of the Evidence; and our Charity to the *Hugonots*, we'll hope to be *False*, and rather disbelieve: After all these Revolutions of *Revolt* and *Pacification*, they join at last with the *Rochellers* to maintain the *War*, when other Towns had submitted to *Peace*; after all this Obstinacy, can their Kings be condemn'd for not keeping their Edicts, which themselves would never observe and obey: All forreign Forces were invited in, to the hazard of the whole Kingdom; and even our Queen *Elizabeth* a *second* time prevail'd upon to succour.

Magis de Valor.

1566.

1567.

\*Dutch, french  
foots.

succour them after they had betray'd her in the *first*; yet such was her *Zeal* or *Interest* of State, that She could never deny assistance to any of her \*Neighbours, when in Arms against their *Prince*; but this to *France* prov'd very unlucky, for besides her *Charges*, and being *beaten* out of *Normandy* by those She had *befriended*; they sent her back the *Plague* for the Service She did them in the *Civil War*, I will not say a just Reward, since it fell upon a People, for whose Prosperity I had rather pray; but it must be *remarkable*, though we may not call it a *Judgment*, for She had a *League* with the King of *France* at the *same* time, and which She had *sworn* too not long before; when She lent Money, Men, and Arms, to his Subjects to fight *against* him, but it was not to be call'd a *Breach* of it, because it must be suppos'd that the Forces of the Reform'd were only rais'd to *Fight* for his Service, and the true Religion, though *against* his Person, Crown and Dignity; this Distinction I think must have in it some favour too of the *Mental Reserve*, and be an Instance of another *Promise* that was not *very well kept*.

In short, with this Assistance they held out a long War, which ended at last in the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, at the Battle of *Jarnar*, and let the World judge whither the Condemning the Admiral, and Confiscating his Estate for *Rebellion* was just; after this, there continu'd a *dissembled Reconciliation* on both sides, such an one as the most *open Hostility* had been less dangerous, which afterward that dismal \* Day of Death and Marriage did discover, some zealous on the Catholick side will tell us this Tragedy was Acted only to preserve them selves, that a Plot of the *Hugonots* was found out, for which purpose E-dicts

\* 1572.

dicts and Proclamations were publish'd, and Meddals stamp'd for the Deliverance; which whether only to palliate so many Murders, or that those who had all along been so restless, had further Machinations, must be left as a secret to the Searcher of Hearts: Most certain it is, it was more Cruel and Universal than that by the Protestants at Pamiers; the greatest Dangers could never justify so black a Deed, and Fate seem'd to Revenge the Effusion of so much Blood in that of the KINGS, who poured out his own, and his Soul together, in some Two Years after: From this abstracted Narrative will appear to all impartial People, what was the Original, what occasion'd the Continuance, and what promoted the end of all this bloody War; it is hard that Catholicks should be condemned alone for it, and their Princes upbraided for those Transactions, which some \*Protestants have look'd upon as the very Scandal of the Reformation: And from hence will appear too his Sincerity, as I observ'd before, how disingenuously the Dr. would fasten upon my meaning, his own Malice and Mistake, as if I had taken the Holy League of the Papists, for that which these Protestants enter'd into so long before: If he'll Quarrel with me for the Word, we will not call it a League, but an † Union of the Protestants under the Prince of Conde, begun about Twenty Year before the \*League of the Papist under the Duke of Guise: 'Tis plain, that I refer'd to this, and the Dr. in his Chronology as is much out now, as Mr. Varillat.

Prepossession and Prejudice, whether the result of Education, Interest, or Religion, are all the same Inconsistencies with the Faithfulness of an Historian, and which in these Relations I have wholly abstracted my self from, and taken

\* Dr. H.

† Begun in Francis 2d. Reign, 1559.  
\* The other in Hen. 3d. about 1579.

taken these short Extracts from the comparing the different Complexions of *Catholick* and *Protestant* Writers; for the *Light of Truth* is so much a *Spark* too, that it is best *Strook* from the most *solid* and disagreeing *Bodies*, and is the sooner discovered from such a *Collision*; and such is my *Charity* too, that whatever were the *Faults* of the *First Reformers* in *France*, which themselves must own were too many, it can by no means justify the furious Proceedings against them at present, either with *prudence* or *safety* from the *Maxims* of the *State*, or any great Credit to the *Doctrines* of this *Gallican Church*; for as it cannot be suppos'd but that any Government Establish'd will endeavour to \*suppress all growing Opinions in their *Original Productions*, especially, should the *Novelty*, or but suppos'd Innovation threaten, not only the Religion of the *State*, but even the Subversion of the *Constitution* of the Government it self, as we see it *did* in this Kingdom, and in the Low-Countries, as hereafter will appear was actually compleated; so a *general Indulgence* is as naturally requisite, where such different Sentiments have prevail'd, and for a series of Time been settl'd and confirm'd, especially, where the Professors of such a different Faith have comported themselves so long with all deference to the *civil Magistrate*, and even to the support of the Crown; and it is far from Reason and Justice, a Vengeance peculiar and assum'd only by the Almighty Judge, to visit to the *Third and Fourth Generation*; Imputation of Guilt was never transferr'd but in *Original Sin*; and those unfortunate Calamities, that by the Reformation were occasion'd, can no more warrant that King's *Persecutions*, than they could excuse our *Charity* to those that he persecutes.

SECT.

\*Vid. Dr. B's.  
Preface to  
*Lettant.* p. 47.

## S E C T. VIII.

WE will examin now the *last Instance* of his famous *List*, which he concludes with a Remark, taken from the *Revolt* of the Low-Countries; which, if the Terms of their own Historians may be allow'd us, we must still call so; and what with our Adversaries own Authority, we shall *ex Confesso* conclude, that \*those Severities were the more excusable, *because these Reformation*s were look'd on (as indeed they were) a *Revolt* then made from *establish'd Laws*; the Doctor's Allegiance may be so far *transferr'd*, as in true *Fidelity*, to *falsify* for them Matter of Fact; and in an History of his own assure us they were never *Subjects* to *Spain*; but it is more than *METERAN*, or *GROTIUS* have done yet. \* The kindness that I have for that *Kind Country* of the Dr's, I confess is no more than what I have ever had to *most Republicks*, and *Common-Wealths*, that is, to think the Constitution of their State to be the result of some *Revolt* and *Defection* from their Ancient Prince, and their Lawful Lord; and that, though we could not trace in History their Beginnings, and date the *Epoche* of their usurped Government and Authority; an Imperfection, from which perhaps, that compleat, and celebrated, and most antient Aristocracy of *Venice*, will hardly be defended, though it retains still the shadow of that more Imperial Sway, from which their *Aborigines* might be said to *Revolt*, or by expulsion from their Country fall into: but the Defence of

\*Vid. Preface to *Lactant*, ut *supra*.

\* Their Author that gives us the Account of their Country in *French*, confesses how *Charles* the Fifth resign'd them to his Son, in these Terms; *Je vous supplé de luy obéir, de retenir la vieille Religion Orthodoxe*.

this *so criminal* Expression, we shall refer to it's proper place: The Dr. at present is in his own *Province*, and affords us what is still his *Kindness* to *Crown'd Heads*, a better Subject to defend, and that is King *Philip the Second*, from the *Calumnies* of an injurious Character that would defame him; for the Foundation of which *Reproach*, or the unreasonable-ness of it, there can be no more fair and candid Procedure, then to refer you, as in the former Essays to to the rest before, to some short Representation of Matter of *Fact*.

It is known then, and beyond Dispute, that the *Belgick* Provinces in former times were first united under the Dominions of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and from them by lineal or lawful Descent devolv'd to the Kings of *Spain*: after they came into their Power, they were all *priviledg'd* so far, that there was no great need to fear they should fall under Oppression; and the miserable Condition, as the Dr. makes it, of *absolute Slaves*, so long as by their Obedience they only continu'd *good Subjects*: To tell us of their *Priviledges* under the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Gauls*, their barbarous and confus'd Constitution, even \* before their Counts, so long before the Emperor *Lewis the Second* had regulated and civiliz'd them with such a Title; and that this *Philip the Second* forfeited his Right, for not maintaining them; is no more than if His *Majesty* were now to forgo His Three Kingdoms, for not observing the Rites and Rules of our old *Druids*, and the obsolete Customs of our antiquated *Britains*: The Notion is so extravagantly *wild*, that with sober men it will pass only for the fancy of some of their First Governours and Legislators, who had no other Name but that of *Forresters*. Yet  
this

\* About a  
1000 Years a-  
gon, about  
An. 860.

this Notion was entertain'd so far, and mixt with several other pernicious Principles, truly *Democratical*; that it serv'd to dress up that \*Oration which was afterward made in their Famous Senate by themselves assembled for the *renouncing* their *Allegiance*, and *deposing* of the King of *Spain*; which whether an Act of *Justice*, or popular *Outrage*, from the subsequent Discourses will appear. Under the Dukes of *Burgundy* we do not find them *tumultuous*, tho' perhaps, \**discontented*, when under any great or more frequent Contributions: *Charles* the *Fifth* was too *fortunate*, and *powerful* to fear them; and no *forreign Forces* were then the Grievance, though *most* of all by him maintain'd; he knew his *absolute Power*, as well as *Philip* that follow'd after: In matters of Religion, and *Reformation*, though he was a little *more moderate*, it must be remembred the *Reformers* were then also *more few*, yet finding some Disturbance, he publish'd an Edict against *Innovation* there, about the time that *Luther's* was condemn'd in *Germany*, he finding according to his old Aphorism, and Opinion, \*That those *who* had no *Reverence* for the *Church*, would think they ow'd as little Obedience to himself, their *KING*; this put him indeed upon some Execution of the Laws, as *Grotius* observes, but with such ill success, that many times, when some of Note were brought to suffer, such Multitudes would meet, as with open Sedition to hinder and oppose it; but the Progress of such seditious Insurrections by his presence, and residing with them was soon interrupted; but when *Philip* the *Second* succeeded his Father, and the *Fugitives* from *Forreign Parts* began to fill *those* of *Flanders*, the *Reform'd* began to be very powerful there, and could never be thought good Neighbours (if ever there

\* Vid. *Grot. Annal. Lib. 3.*

\* As in the Time of *Char.* the Hardy.

\* *Cæsar* persuasum; proculcatâ Sacerdotum reverentia ne ipsi quidem mansurum Obsequium, *Grot. id. L. 1.*

were any Insurrections) to the Church-Government that there was then *Establiſh'd*, and to which they had expres'd ſo great an Averſion: *Philip the Second* foreſaw this, and fearful of what follow'd, was forc'd to leave thoſe *Forreign Souldiers* (as he told them) for *their* Defence, but indeed for *his own*; but for all this ſuppos'd *ſtrength*, they finding he had left too the Government in the hands of a *Woman*, they ſoon diſcovered an apparent *Weakneſs*, and one of their Nobility, then the greateſt Subject, and without any Detraction from his mighty Deeds, as greatly diſcontented too, whom out of Reverence to his Royal Duſt, and reſpect to his No-

ble Line, we will leave without a Name, thinking himſelf as \* *inju-riouſly* diſappointed of the Government of thoſe Provinces, which upon the King's returning into *Spain*, he had promis'd to himſelf, and indeed from his *Merit* and *Deſert* might very well

\* Vid. *Heylin's History of Preſbyter*, pag. 86. L. 3. Edit. 2d. London, 72. Vid. *Fam. Strad. Lib.* 1. Dec. 2d. *Grot. Annal. Lib.* 1. Deceſſu Philip. pi. de ſumma præſecturâ certatum eſt, ſed omiſſus uterque; perpetuis ſimulacratibus Rempub. diſtraherent.

*expect*, was animated ſo far as to think upon an expedient for the *heightening* of his Power to make himſelf Head of the *Proteſtant Party*, which upon the abſence of their King, began to multiply apace: for this purpoſe he Conſults with the Counts of *Egmont*, and *Horn*, about redreſſing ſome Grievances that were neceſſary for them to be eas'd of; and that was firſt the *three thouſand Spaniſh Souldiers*, though ſo far from being any thing dangerous to the People, that they *themſelves* had the Command of them: They petition for their Removal, the King grants graciouſly their *Requeſt*, but withal thought fit to detain them there, until the new Number of Biſhops that he had inſtituted, were ſettled for fear of any further Inſurrexion; but they influence the People ſo, that no  
Contri-

Contribution could be got to pay them; and the Dutch-  
 ess of *Parma* now empowr'd by the King, transports  
 them all away for *Spain*: This one would think should  
 have been sufficient to pacifie them, but no sooner was  
 this Grievance redrest, but Discontent like an Hydra from  
 her Amputation, rises with another Head; *Granvel* then  
 the *greatest* Minister of State, was then as *great* a Grievance too, and from his *single* Person, they now apprehended more *danger*, than from the *whole disbanded Army*: A Person from whose Worthiness and Abilities to govern, even \**Protestant* Authors and his *Enemies* dare not detract; his removal is obtained too; but the want of him, the Governess soon found when it was too late; for presently after his dismission, the Tumults began at *Tourney*, *Valenciens*, &c. rescuing of Prisoners; threatening of Magistrates, and at last clamoring against their new Bishops; tho' persons all eminent in *Learning*, and of as excellent *Lives*; alarm'd with these many Tumults, that like tumbling Waves, tofs'd, or tumultuated too upon one another; the King of *Spain* (as even an Historian of our Reformation too, if we may compare his sincerity with Dr. B, does honestly observe) did then first send to his Sister, the Governess, to see his Father's Edicts *severely* executed, and to command a strict observance of the *Canons* of the *Council* of *Trent*. Encourag'd even under these severe Injunctions which were more *formidably* menac'd and commanded, than *truly* executed, the Lords declaring against it at the Council Table, and the Governess, with a great deal of difficulty got them past; which when done, the opposite Party so incens'd the People, as to make it almost dangerous to put them in execution; and the Executive power was soon oppos'd, when they had intelligence given them, that the Prince Elector had promis'd them

\* *Vid.* Heyl.  
*Histor. Presb.*  
 Lib 3.  
*Sir W. T's Observations.*  
*Hug. Grot. l. 1.*

*Dr. H. Hist.*  
*ibid.*

affi-

† *Libellos pro-*  
*ponere tenta-*  
*menta vulgi.*  
Grotius *An.*  
I. 1.

assistance if ever it should *come* to be decided by the Sword; and that they then, soon made it *come too*: For presently, they dispers'd no less than five thousand Seditious † Libels against the Government and the Governess; and *open* Sedition, when once it appears *bare fac'd*, has no other *Helmet* of *Salvation*, but by putting on compleat *Armor*, and that you shall see they *soon* did; for immediately, amidst these Tumultuous Proceedings, *nine* of the Lords, without any Law or Authority, no Officers in the concerns of the State, assemble themselves at *Breda*: *Marnixius*, one of the best Abilities among them, makes them subscribe a *Covenant* of his own Composing; and so *associate* themselves with a solemn Oath, not to desert one another, send it about the several Provinces for Subscriptions, and some time after make an essay of their Fidelity to one another, by entering *Brussels* arm'd with *Swords* and *Pistols*, and *Count de Brederode* at the head of them, a Body of two hundred, which now might well be call'd *Confederates*; *Grotius* himself, as concern'd as he is for his Country, cannot but call it a *Conspiracy*, tho' he would excuse them from the Guilt; diminishes their number, and makes them come *unarm'd* to the Court, and no further design than the *suppressing* the *Inquisition*; the severity of which when laid aside, could never appease them; for by his own confession, they made their *fears* greater, *than indeed they were*; pretended the danger of Civil Dissentions, and partly *created* them themselves, make their Marriages, Feasts, and Assemblies, but so many Meetings of Conspiracy to carry on the Plot; and when a Commotion was rais'd among the Common People, came out to *animate* it, by shewing themselves *unable* to *suppress* it. Other Authors that will speak more *liberally*, represent these design'd Conventions as the deepest Debauches,

*Ibid. Lib. 1.*  
Sir *W. T.* makes  
them 200  
strong.  
Malorum me-  
tum hoc magis  
attollentes.  
Obtendant  
turbas Civiles  
partim & ipsi  
faciunt. *Ibid.*  
*Grot.*

bauches, to draw in the most Dissolute Rabble, which was accomplisht too with a great deal of Tumult and Acclamation; and so far were they seduced by them, that all the Declarations of the Governess could never resettle them in their Obedience; and so far were the *Reform'd* inspir'd with these Proceedings, that at *St. Omer's* they † force all the Doors of Churches and Religious Houses, demolisht Altars, defac'd Shrines, pull down Images, and pursue with the same Zeal all that was sacred; so also at *Ipres*, and several other places, expelling the Bishops, and as if all *Learning* were *Superstition* and *Idolatry* too, sacrific'd their *books*, and best of *Libraries*, in the same flame; neither sparing things *inanimate*, nor the Unviolable *Dust*, and Sepulchres of the *dead*: The Mischiefs, Sacrilege, and Murders that were committed at *Antwerp*, were such, that they seem'd to make a *Masacre* almost of all that was *Sacred*; assaulted the Procession and Image of the B. Virgin upon her very day of Assumption; fall upon them in the Church, drive out the Catholics, secure the doors, fall to that *abominable* work of rooting out *Abominations*; pull down all the Crucifixions of our Saviour, all the Saints from their *Pedestals*, deface all the *Pictures*, and even painted glass; and that this Zeal against *Idolatry*, might be sublimated into the highest *Atheism*, and lewdest *Impiety*; the Consecrated Host was taken out of the *Pixes*, and tramp'd upon with their feet; the Wine in the sacred Chalice, most solemnly drunk off in debauch; and their Holy Oyl in derision applied to the greasing of their Shoes; certainly this was a sort of Zeal that would have past better in *Japan*, and with such Christians as can shew more reverence to an Heathen Idol at *Pegu*; but this Brutal rage was not confin'd to the Limits of the *Town*, it so spread through the *Country*, that in

† Qui time-  
runt hactenus  
territare inci-  
piunt, says  
Grotius him-  
self. Ne Sæ-  
vitæ quidem  
in sacerdotibus  
& simulacra  
divum tempe-  
ratur; ead-  
em in Libros  
& sepulchra  
rabie. L. 1.

ten days time, no fewer than *four hundred* Consecrated places, were destroy'd or defac'd ; a *Zeal* so truly *incens'd*, that it seem'd to delight in *flames*, especially such as could *consume* any Sacred Pile ; it seem'd to defie any *Heaven* ; and dare all the Terrors of *Hell*, and *Everlasting burnings*. And was it *criminal* now, and the Violation of *Faith*, or *breach of Promise* in the Prince or Governor, to think of subduing such Subjects by force of Arms ; but no sooner had they intelligence of such a design ; but they manag'd it so as to be before hand with their King, and to let the World know they could carry their *disobedience* further, (since *Rebellion* is look't upon as a term too injurious for the *Confederates* ; ) they contriv'd how to *transfer* their *Allegiance* to some Neighbouring Princes for *Protection* ; in order to that, they first erect a supream Consistory at *Antwerp* ; and some inferior Judicatories in other Places, and chose their own Magistrates, and at last alarm'd with the News of their King's coming to give them a Visit, they were up in Arms before the Governess had got together any Horse or Foot for to suppress them besides the Train-Bands, they seized upon several Towns, turn their Canon against the King and his Commission ; and all this *before* the Duke of *Alva* was arriv'd, whose cruel Disposition could not be the cause of *those* Outrages and Rebellions, that were committed, and commenc'd *before* his coming : Mr. *Sidney's* Papers were never seconded, or out-done in this point, till these of the Doctor's appeared ; so unjustly do some people impute the disturbances in which those *States* were involv'd to the Tyranny of that cruel Man, that all things were in a Flame *before* ever he came to his Government, 'tis true, the King found that the *mildness* of the *Dutchess* of *Parma* could not prevail to reduce them to Obedience,

*Vid. his Trial.*

ence, and so thought it high time to send a more *severe* Minister; for Diseases that are desperate, commonly require Remedies as *dangerous* too; tho' I must say as *Grotius* observes, *That had been the season for Philip himself to have come to suppress them*; for such necessitated Severities are *sooner* born with, and have better success when they come from the Prince *himself*, than from any common Subject, tho' the greatest Minister of State, *especially* when from one that has contracted a popular Odium: The Duke comes with a powerful Army of good old experienc'd Souldiers, to *restore* his Sovereign to that his Country, which as he had *left*, so that had almost entirely *deserted* him; the Duke seizes two of the chief of the Faction, *Egmont*, and *Horn*; they were Try'd, Condemn'd, and Executed publicly at *Brussels*, *judicially* proscribes the Prince of O——: seizes upon his Eldest Son, sends him Prisoner into *Spain*, confiscates his Estate, and all this proceeding of *Absolute Power*, I conceive, among *Civilians*, will be still call'd *Law*; a *Judicial Process* against Disobedient Subjects, for (a) *Conspiracy*, (b) *Sedition*, (c) *Sacrilege*, and (d) *High-Treason*.

(a) Conjurati-  
onis reus est  
cum alicu-  
jus dolo malo

jurejurando quis adactus quo quid adversus rem publicam facit. D. 48. 44. (b) Seditiosi sunt. C. 9. 30. & 48. qui plebem audent colligere, cujus dolo malo consilium initum est. (c) Qui in Ecclesia tumultum facit, & ministeria perturbat capitali supplicio afficiendus, C. 1. 12. 4. (d) Perduellionis reus est qui adversus principem est Armatus vel cujus dolo malo contra eum consilium initum est, D. 48. 4. 11. D. 48. 4. 1.

These were the Laws by which he was to *Govern*; these Laws of *Nations* were then too those of *all* the *Land*; by which, most parts of it at this *very* time are govern'd; and how *many* of those were violated by that multitude of Tumultuous People, and whether *every* one of them was not in the highest manner broken, I

hope, from the foregoing Relations, will appear; not *one* of these Crimes but was ever reputed by the Imperial Law, *Capital*, and no wonder then so many lost their *heads*; so general was the Defection, that an incens'd King might well declare, the Provinces *had forfeited their Liberty, and almost every Man his Life*: Whatever were the Obligations of the Prince, they themselves had Violated all the former Pacifications, and indeed, without any regard to the *mildness* of the Dutcheſs of *Parma*: she had got the Souldiers remov'd, Cardinal *Granvell* to be sent away, and conniv'd at their Tumultuous Assemblies, and Religious Meetings: 'Tis true, these *Pacifications* and Condescensions did somewhat appease them, but no longer till they had an opportunity, and encouragement to demand greater Freedoms, or Licentiousness; and that offer'd it self when *Lewis Count of Nassaw* was return'd from *Heydelberg*, with assurance that the Elector Palatin would lend them assistance; for then you see, as in the foresaid Relation, they fell to Libelling of the Government, the Lords associate themselves at *Breda*: *Brederode* comes in that bold manner to the Court; the Governess (as she could not well avoid in such a Seditious Juncture) gave them good hopes that the Emperors Edicts should be moderated, and the Inquisition taken away, but it was fit the King should be first acquainted with it; but for this, it seems they would not stay, but run out into *all* those Extravagant Mischiefs we have repeated before; so when *Egmont* was somewhat before this sent into *Spain*, to suit the King's Inclinations, and to mollifie him: From *Grotius* himself, I cannot discover, that the Dutcheſs had *therein* granted them any publick Edict of Pacification, nor indeed from any other Author: It appears from all, that she conniv'd at their boldness till better times could come.

come to suppress it; all that the King told the Count from his Annals, does appear to be only this, \* That there might be some hopes of the moderating the severity of such Edicts; but it seem'd to depend too upon the submissive Comportment of the People, for whom he express a great deal of Affection; but when he receiv'd an account of the several Tumults before recited, and especially the Seditious Carriage of the Senate of *Bruges*, who had imprison'd some of his Officers, only for Executing of his *Justice*; it was then that he thought them to deserve no *mercy*, and so sent to his Sister to let her know all what he had promis'd Count *Egmont*; and that she should see the *Edicts* of the *Emperor*, and those of *Trent* put in Execution. The Dr. says, King *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>. did ratifie to Count *Egmont*, the *Dutchess* of *Parma's* *Edict* of *Pacification*, if his Friend *Meteran* were not mistaken, and all other Authors; the Count's Negotiation in *Spain*, was two years before the *Pacification* at *Brussels* was penn'd or heard of; for he was sent away immediately after *Granvel's* Removal, in the year 1563, and the *Dutchess's* *Edict* bears date 23<sup>d</sup>. *August* 1566; neither is there any mention of his confirming made, nor could well be, for she sent out to all the Provinces her *Pacificatory* Letters by the 26<sup>th</sup>. of the same Month; but the Dr. depended upon the license of a *Traveller*, and thought no one would offer to go so far as to disprove him: And the business of *Bayonne*, that presently ensu'd, and all that famous Conference between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, for extirpating the *Protestants*, has no other foundation, than the Story of the King of *France's* confessing it to the Prince of O — : as a Secret when he was a Hunting; where if we consider what a weakness it must argue in the King, and the prejudice that might dispose the Prince to such a representation,

\* Spem quoque nonnullum fecerat, &c. is all what Grotius says, Lib. 1. and Meteran says no more. L. 2. 1565. Grot. Lib. 1.

it being his interest to make *Spain* as odious as he could, we may have some reason to suspend our belief; *Grotius* and those that have it from \* him, have themselves no other foundation for it, but the *Princes* own Authority and Confession; it was otherwise receiv'd by the World; (*Philip* himself not appearing at it) only for an enterview, for a kind Correspondence between the Mother of *France* and her Children, and perhaps nothing, but the Duke of *Alva's* being present at the Conference, has given occasion to the countenancing the report of such cruel Intentions, where if a Subject of so great concern to the two Crowns had been to be debated; it is somewhat probable, the Queen-Mother would have brought with her one of the greatest Ministers of State, and brought the Duke of *Guise* to have matcht that of *Alva*, for her Son *Charles* the Ninth was too young to be such a Counsellor, tho' if they really had (what is yet left so uncertain) consulted how to preserve themselves against a growing and formidable Party, that infested both their Kingdoms, and \* mutually assisted one another, as *Conde* did the Mutineers in *Flanders*: It comes to no more than *this*, that those two *Monarchies* like meer natural Bodies, did Conspire for their own Preservation; for Princes in Prudence are oblig'd to preserve a Religion that has been long establish'd in their Dominions; tho' the same Policy did at first oblige them to oppose its Establishment: And i'll engage Dr. B. to be of the same mind, when he says, *If Persecution can be at any time excus'd*, it is in the first beginning of *Heresies*, the Heats that were rais'd in the first Formation of the Breach, may take away from the Guilt of the Sacrifices that were made; but always when *Princes* meet, especially with some jealous people, such an  
inter-

\* Sir W. T.  
Vid. Meteran  
Lib. 2. cum nihil  
certi de hac  
re potuerit  
rescisci multis  
vana suspicio  
visa fuit.  
An. 1563.

\* Preface to  
Lactantius.  
pag. 47.

*interview*, though but a *Complement*, is improv'd to an *Intreague* of State, and their business can be thought no less than answerable to the great Characters that they bear: I wonder Dr. B. (it being so much to his purpose, and he so good an Historian) had not stumbled in upon this piece of Importance, to prove the *Perfidiousness* of King Philip, who procur'd this cruel Conference immediately after *Egmont's civil* Entertainment; and besides, it being a business somewhat like the *Discovery* he has made of the *Negotiation* at *Dover*, he might have had an Opportunity to have vouch'd it for his own *Original*; but after all his smart Animadversions on this King's Commission, and his bandy'd Observations through all his Papers upon those two poor Words, *Absolute Power*; I hope the Dr. will allow us, that it is ill apply'd to the *Power* of *Spain*; for where any *Imperial Law* obtains, the Princes were ever reputed as *Absolute*, and by the very Constitution of those Decrees, are *absolutely* made so; for those tell us, That the \* *Prince is ever esteem'd both the Maker and Interpreter of all Laws; that which is his sole Pleasure hath the Force and Sanction of a Law, and that it is equivalent to sacrilege it self to resist it*; and to this *Absoluteness*, perhaps, the House of *Austria* has the best of Pretensions, since in that is preserv'd the more immediate Right and Succession to those *Imperial Constitutions*, and all the poor Remains of the Roman *Empire*: But why this bloody Commission should be parallell'd with his Majesty's most merciful Declarations to *Scotland*, I cannot comprehend, unless the Dr. by transferring his *Allegiance*, has translated his Senses too, and so learnedly confounds a Liberty of Conscience with the *Spanish Inquisition*; but Malice, as it will alway make the worst of Applications,

\*For this purpose, *Vid. C. 1. 14. 12. D. 1. 4. 1. C. 1. 23. 5.*

tions, so it seldom considers that Inconsistency that commonly attends them; but since the Dr. has vouchsafed us to quote *one* Author for his Justification, among the *many* Reflexions that he makes, and that is *Meteran*, It must be known too, that from him *alone* can never be expected a most impartial Relation of those Transactions, and that from his own Confession in the very Preface; for he professes himself to be *too True to his Country*, and *too much an Enemy to the Tyranny of Spain*; that he only writes and rehearſes to us *most* of the Acts of the *Reformers* and *Defenders* of his Country: and that, because he had the *greatest* Opportunity to Consult and Converse with them, but still would not be thought to *conceal* any thing that made for his Adversaries, (though I think the Injury to the Truth will be still the same, whether the Author abuses it out of *design*, or for want of *understanding*; such a *Writer* was a proper instrument in the hand of such a *Reflector*; and the Hatred of the *one* to the Tyranny of *Spain*, may come in Competition with the others Malice to this *Absolute Power of Scotland*: The Dr. would not have pardon'd us, should we have paum'd upon him the same piece of Partiality, and taken out our Accounts *only* from *Famianus Strada*, for whom I am sure he must have no great Kindness, being a Member of the *Society*; but yet in the Relation that \* *Meteran* gives us of Count *Egmont's* Reception; he does not tell us of any Edict, or Pacification confirm'd, but only as \* *Grotius* tells us, that the King gave him some *hopes* of Indulgence, which doubtless was to depend upon their good Behaviour; and for the business of *Bayone*, represents it (you see) only as the vain suspicion of the *Reformers*, which for want of Foundation did as soon vanish:

'Tis

*Vid. Præfationem ad Historiam.*

\* Lib. 2.

\* Lib. 1.

'Tis no wonder then he refers us to *Meteran*, to judge of the Proceedings of the Duke of *Alva*, which though *severe* in themselves, were but Acts of *Justice* still, though that when strein'd, is the highest *Injury*; the distance of time will not permit us to examin the critical Minutes of the State, but after so much Insurrection, the *severest* Executions, if we respect the political part of Government, may pass for *necessitated* Acts, though perhaps sometimes too, they may have as ill success; but 'tis no wonder to see men that are *seditions* themselves, to animadvert on the Justice of a Nation, after a *Rebellion* suppress'd: *Meteran* calls such an Administration among *them*, the *Council of Blood*; and the Dr's Authority among *us* has made it the \* *Bloody Campagne*. But because in common equity we are bound to carry the Case a little further, let us see whither, after all their Tumults and Insurrections that provok'd an *injur'd*, and *incens'd* KING, to send them such an *odious* and *severe* Minister of State; they did not proceed to far greater Enormities, against that Subjection they ow'd to their lawful Sovereign; then himself could be said to transgress in any irregularities of his Government: whatever were the Concessions of the Dutchess of *Parma*, (for I do find she was indeed so far necessitated, as to be brought to Article with them;) they were only *Terms*, or good Words extorted from Her by the terror of their *Tumults*; for *Brederode* came so well interested or attended, that she could not but give him *good Language*, and a *civil Reception*; tho' he had made Her but an *ill Complement*, and as *bold an Address*; also at an other time, when she had assembled her great Council, they gave out a Report, that if the Governess did not consent to their Demands,

\*Vid. Reflex.  
on Varill, 3d.  
Tome.

mands, She should immediately see all the Churches in *Brussels* fir'd, the Priests murder'd, and Her self imprison'd; So that Her *indulging* them for the present, was thought the best expedient: These Disorders were such, for which you may consult even *METERAN* himself at *Antwerp*; *Delph*, and the *Hague*, that the Dutchess even then fear'd the general Defection that follow'd, (and as he calls it) *Rebellion* of all the Country, from a *Faction* and *Seditious Crew*, that the Governess her self was afraid of her Life, was going to leave *Brussels*, but being prevail'd upon by some of the Lords, who promis'd to stand by her; She stay'd, tho' She was told that Night, that there was a Plot to have killed two of Her Trusty Nobles, and make Her a Prisoner; so that when She writ to the Lords about an Ediēt of Pacification, She declares it the *Result of Violence*,† and *inevitable necessity*; but no one will infer from thence, besides the Dr, that this Ediēt for Pacification was to continue, and be a *perpetual Indemnity* to all ages for any disorders they should hereafter commit; for she was so provok'd with these Indignities *repeated*, that She had resolv'd to suppress them by Force of Arms, before that *Alva* was arriv'd, had several, and good Successes against them at *Lisle*, *Tourney*, and *Valenciens*, insomuch, that this progress of Her affairs, and the News of *Alva's* March, or Arrival, *confounded* them all, and put the *Confederates* into as much *Consternation*. In short, *Alva's* \* *Severities* were as severely return'd by three or four several Invasions, by the Forces of the Confederates, the Depredations of their Neighbours, and the United Assistance of some of the Princes of *Germany*; whatever were their pretended hardships *before*, it was no more than what their own Disobedience and Seditious serv'd;

† Violentia  
& inevitabilis  
necessitatis  
nunc grassan-  
tis ratione  
habitā, *Mete-  
ran, Lib. 2.*

\* Dr. B.  
his admir'd  
*Meteran* is  
forc'd to con-  
fess a bold  
Conspiracy  
and Attempt  
against *Alva*,  
for which  
there was but  
one suffer'd.  
*Nemine eam  
obCausam prae-  
ter hunc solum  
penas passō.*  
*Meter. Lib. 3.*  
An. 1568.

serv'd; and supposing they had suffer'd *injuriously*, that is, by some *excess* of *Justice*; it could no more warrant their *incurfions* into their own Country of *Flanders*; Than the *Rebellions* of *Monmouth* and *Argile* could be justify'd by their being obnoxious to the King of *Great Britain* before; but *interest*, and *opportunity*, are too strong Temptations, to come in competition with *Loyalty* and *Allegiance*; *Ludowick* invades *Friesland*, *Luma* feites upon the *Brill*, the Prince with his *Germans* and other *Auxiliaries*, designing upon *Brabant*, was by the Duke of *Alva* diverted, and forc'd to retire; but *Flushing* following the Fate of the *Brill*, these Sea-port Towns drew after them the Defection of some of the most considerable Towns in *Holland*: this success animated the *P. of O.* to enter his Country once again; and tho' his Army was *less*, his Success was *more*; he possess'd himself of some of the principal Towns of *Brabant*; and because the *Dr.* delights so much in the dismal Representations of Popish Cruelties, so enrag'd were these Reformers, that under the Conquest of *Luma*, none suffer'd worse than the poor *Priests*, they did not only make them *die*, but in *tortures* too, & as if their *lives* could not appease their *deadly* Fury, nor their languishing *Deaths* defeat their Malice, it was extended even to their *Carkasses* too; and their *mangled* Limbs hung up as *bloody* Trophies of their most *triumphant* Cruelty; and that it may be beyond contradiction, that the *Severities* of *Alva*, were not the *sole* Cause of their *Defection*, after his removal, the *heat* of their fury still continued, as well as *before* his coming, the *flames* of it were broken *forth*; the *many* misfortunes, and Defeats of their *German* Forces did not *cool* it; they Reform'd so fast, till they *fell out* amongst themselves, tyr'd at last, with their own Confusions, they *fell into* the Pacification of *Gaunt*; that is, they *associated* to make Peace a-

L

mong

Vid. Heylin's  
History of  
Presby. Lib. 3.

Vid. Strad.  
Grotius, Me-  
teran.

mong themselves, without any regard, or consideration of their King, which they seem'd to salve afterward with an Explanation, and so by the name of *perpetual Edict*, was confirm'd by *Don John*; but all this did not quiet them, or that Governors easiness & Popular Affectation; they frame an Oath to renounce *all Obedience* to him too, from thence proceed to the union of *Utrecht*, tho' the very *Contradiction* to that of *Gaunt*, and then *second* it with the *deposition* of their King, declaring he had *forfeited his estate & interest in the several Provinces*; & so out-did the Drs *Commission* of their *Liberties* and *Lives*: This is a Relation that does not lie for a *Cause* or *Religion*, for *God*, or *Man*, but shews how far the enraged *Catholicks* were concern'd in the *Rebellion*, upon which, the *reforming Protestants* proceeded to a *Revolt*, & entire *secession*.

I shall not insist on our *AUTHORS* malicious Application of the Duke of *Alva's Commission*; to the Terms of *Absolute Power* express'd in our KING's Declaration; 'tis such a profess'd Talent of Dr. B's, to make the most odious Comparison of the King's Proceedings, that People will not be surpriz'd to see him make the Dukes Reign *cruel* and *bloody*, only to represent his own Prince a more *absolute Tyrant*. The *limitation* of the *Spanish Monarchy* is as much the Mark of our Authors popular affectation, as the Reflection on our *absolute Power*, and indeed he cannot but in common Gratitude be for Courting a Common-Wealth; but this express *Proviso* in their Constitution, that if the Prince broke such Limits, they might resist him, was rather a principle of *Democracy* that was then zealously contended for the *limiting* all *Monarchies*, as well as that of *Spain*, publish'd in those † pernicious Pieces,

† Populi ordines jus sibi retinuisse *fran-*  
*nandorum principum de jure.*  
*Mag. Quest. 6.*  
*p. 73. Edit.*  
*Frankfort. Intelligimus magistratus, quatinus Regum Ephoros, &c.*  
*Vid. Junii.*  
*Brut. vind.*  
*contra Tyrannos.* *Vid. Alfo Calvinus Inft. Rex qui pactum violat, &c. hujus faderis seu pacti, Regii officarii vindicæ & custodes sunt. vind. cont. Tyrann. Quest. 4. p. 69.*

in those very Times, for that very purpose, in *France*, in *Scotland*, in *Flanders*, by those *very* people that made all those Commotions, though it proceeds upon the most unjustest Principle, of making the *same* Persons *judge* and *Party*; against the Rules of *common* Equity, *common* Law, and that of all Nations, as in a particular Treatise I've shewn: but I hope it does appear from this impartial Relation, that the *perfidiousness* he would have fixt upon the *Promises* of the *King of Spain*, had it been *prov'd*, would in a great measure have been excus'd by the Provocations of his most *disobedient*, and *rebellious* Subjects: I cannot help it, if History, the most impartial Authors, and even their *own* represent it so, without respect to any Religion whatsoever: *Thuanus* tells us, That it was partly upon that very Account that Arch-duke *Matthias* deserted them, as well as for the *Indignities* he had receiv'd from those he had without any return of *Gratitude* so eminently serv'd; for when he came to examine their Cause, upon which they had put so good a Colour as to procure some compassionate Assistance, he soon saw how much their injur'd Sovereign was abus'd, and that he could not *\*honestly defend their Defection, and Revolt from their Lawful Lord*; || *Grotius* himself lets us know that they proceeded to the deposition of their Prince upon these *old* Principles of the *Supream* Authority, being *alwaies* radically in the People, that the *King* was accountable to them, that as he was *above* any *single* Subject, and *individual*, so he was *inferiour* to them *all* in the *State* *Collective*, and that they could *judge* and *punish* him too; this was all agreeable to that Democracy they then design'd to raise, and the Doctrines of those *\*pernicious* Pens that were at that time employ'd (as the *Dr.* is now, for the Libelling of all *Monarchy*,

\* Cum defectionem ab Austriacâ Familia honestè non ferre poterat; *Thuan. Genev. Edit. Tom. 3. § 40. B.*  
|| Vid. *Grotius Lib. 3. Ut Superiores singulis, ita infra universos, id.*

\* Vid. *Brutus. Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos de jure Magistratus. Eusebius Philadelphus. Buchana, de jure regni.*

† To *Grot.*  
*Annal.*

\* Vid. *Lib. 2.*  
*Lib. 10.*

\* 26. *Julij.*  
*A. D. 1681.*  
*Subsign. Joan.*  
*Afflicters.*

and advancing the glorious Cause of a Republick and a *Common-wealth*. The modern † *Preface* to that excellent Author, glories in the Dedication of the *Book* upon that *bold Attempt* of their Ancestors, that could venture upon an Insurrection against the Power of *Spain* that had been formidable even to Kings and Princes, and even his most Admir'd and Authentick \* *Meteran* is forc'd to confess them to have been extraordinary *seditions* in their Tumults and Insurrections, and gives us a full Relation of all those Reasons and Aphorisms, purely *Democratical*, by which they pretended to justify the deposing of their King, which are contain'd at length in that \* Instrument of defection, Dated from the *Hague*, the *Metropolis* of the Constituted State.

I hope the Dr. does not now think this is in order to the *Courting of the Common-wealth-Party*; but if it be taken ill, I do not make my *Court* better; they must be angry with their own *Authors*, or their *Ancestors*; *fall out with the Truth*, or *fall foul* upon themselves; he is too much a man of integrity to desire, though it be for a *National* Concern, that *History* should be *corrupted*; and the vast Reputation, as he tells us, his *own* has got, I hope was never acquir'd by any *Falsehood* or *Forgery*: I could have heartily wish'd he had never brought us these unhappy Presidents to prove the Perfidiousness of Catholick Princes, and the lewd Principles of their Religion, since it must so unluckily lay open the Scandalous Progress of the Reformation abroad, which our Protestant Authors, and Dignify'd Church-men have been themselves blush'd at, and asham'd; and he may seem to deserve as severe an Execration for forcing me to revive so much of the Faults of the Reformers, the Protestant Church, and his *Mothers* Shame, as that undutiful *Son* that discovered

red too much of his *Fathers Nakedness*; 'tis to be lamented, to see what *dissolute, debauch'd, and Atheistical Opinions* the Licentiousness of *Reforming* produc'd in those *Low-Countries* we last treated of, that of *George of Delph*, and *Nicholas of Leyden*; *Grotius* bewails, as produc'd by this *Liberty* of the *First Reformers*; and this *Family of Love* that set up there first, were of *Opinion*, that it was *lawful to deny upon Oath, any thing, before a Person that was not of the same Family and Society*; this is such a *Mental Reserve*, as the *Dr.* among the *Jesuites* can't easily discover: 'Tis to be *deplor'd*, as well as *admir'd*, and animadverted on; the *Miseries*, the *Confusions*, and the *Rebellions* that the *Reformation* brought with it in all places *abroad*, where ever it was carried on; and as great an *Enemy* as they make the *Pope and Society*, to all *Monarchs and Sovereigns*; the most *Antimonarchical Works* you see, that ever were publish'd, did in *that very juncture* of time appear; neither could it in common policy be *avoided*; for the *Changes* in *Church-Government*, and *Religious Worship*, being for the most part made in opposition to the *Supream Authority* of the *State*; the villifying of *that was unavoidable*, and the *deposing P O W E R* the most politick Position that could be maintain'd. Those *Innovations* that could not be made with their *KING's Consent*, were best carried on by that pretty *Expedient* of *transferring Allegiance*; and when this *Philip the second* would not allow his *Subjects* all the *Liberties* they ask'd; they had no other *Recourse*, but to tell him, *he had forfeited his Right*.

## S E C T. I X.

THE Dr. tells us he could carry this view of History much farther, but I think it is carried already a little too far for his Credit; for the Faith of *Roman Catholics* I am afraid in those times will abide a better Test, than the *Protestants Loyalty*, which is easier to be deplor'd and lamented than disprov'd and deny'd: This Author found himself press'd in the former Treatise with matter of Fact, where the *Protestants* in Germany, find at present both *Faith* and Protection under *Catholick* Princes; but that his malice must impute to their want of Power to do *Mischief*, and the *Circumstances of Affairs*; this *Circumstances of Affairs*, I do not see but may serve our turns here too, and hinder their power of doing *Mischief*, since we have the Kings Word there shall be none done, and the *PROTESTANT* Party so strong a *Circumstance* to prevent it.

Vid. Reflect.  
Parag. 4.

His *Propositions*, and *Expedients of Pension*, and *Indemnity* for the *Papists* are pretty projects; and worthy of such an *Undertaker*; but they would thank him more, would he undertake too, that when such Laws shall continue in force, they may not hereafter be put in execution with a *Non Obstante* even to a *Statute of Impunity*, and they be told beside with an Insulting Sarcasm, you are rightly serv'd; their *Pensions* will do them or their posterity but little good; when once they get them again within the *præmunire* of the *Tests*; and if the *Legislators* chance to have no more *Charity* for them, than such *Reflecters*, they may be hang'd by those that are so afraid of burning, ruin'd with interpretation, and most constructively destroy'd, by those that will be too wil-

Vid. Reflect.  
Parag. 5.

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ling to void any Law that shall be made for their preservation, (and the Dr. himself does *Menace* as much in the very next page) an Act of *Oblivion*, will be made truly so, by being it self *forgot*; so that the sum of this *hardness of proposals*, comes to this *handsome*, and *easie definition*; they are always to continue the *condemn'd Prisoners* to the *State*, to *live upon the Basket*, and the *favour of a Reprieve*.

The *Contest* for Religion, I confess, is too great; but I can see none that *contend* so much to *prevail*, but such who are so *contentious* as to *depress* all different persuasions, for fear of *Usurpation*; if the *Cross* is the sole security against the Catholick Religion; The *Doctrine* of the *Church* will much suffer in having only such a secular support from the *State*, when even *that* can hardly defend it self for establishing such an *unreasonable Law*, enacted meerly by the contrivance of such that then sate at the Helm, *whose Conduct* was condemn'd by *all*, *whose Proceedings* by *themselves* represented as *seditions*, and that *Zeal* that animated such unjust undertakings, found to have no other foundation, but upon *Falshood* and *Perjuries*; so that if the *Question* were impartially put, it would come to this, whither these *Tests* ought sooner be *repeal'd*, than the rest of the *Penal-Laws*; they being more eminently fram'd from *meer malice and mistake*; this *prevailing Religion*, which he would now bring to this *very period* of time, has been too long a *prevailing* to have so short an *Epoche* for its commencement and *date*, and for almost this hundred and fifty year was never *prevalent*, and whatever is the *Prospect* and *Face* of the *State*, while the *Church* still continues in that station she would be (as she has the best of *Securities* from so *Gracious a King*) and a *Toleration* *Establisht* as well as the *Church*, this *Protestant Religion*.

*Religion* will not be so soon prevail'd upon, but must needs be maintain'd in the mighty numbers of the free Professors of it.

*Ref. Parag. 6.* The *diservice* he would insinuate we have done in putting the *Justices* in mind of their Oaths, one would think I had superseded the thoughts of, in the same Treatise, where I had appeal'd to himself to make an Essay in the point of the *Dispensing Power*, where his malice might be manifested in the prosecution, and his revenge frustrated by the Royal Authority's suspending of all the penalty; and this a Resolution of those twelve men in Scarlet, the deepness of whose Crimes he would so maliciously represent by the badge of their Office; if he will persuade the *Justices* of the Peace to prosecute Dissenters, notwithstanding His Majesties Gracious Indulgence, I am afraid he'll do them no acceptable piece of Service, and give them more perplexity, than the trouble of repealing can create, which doubtless, must take off all scruple about their execution; the Members of the Coll. he's pleas'd to Caress with their adhering to their Oaths, were perhaps, more true to their Zeal, and an Obstinate Disobedience; a Protestant Prince might have never met with that refractoriness, and a Catholick Founder, I fancy, did never more directly design his Statutes against the Prerogative of a Catholick King; but to shew that a stubborn obstinacy was a great ingredient in this Conscience Plea; Nothing is more plain, than from this late Revolution in the Death of the President; where if there had been but a *submissive application* made to an offended Majesty, and an humble Petition to be restor'd to favour, if I may be forgiven the boldness of Imagination, as well as the Dr. would be pardon'd the hardness of Propositions; I fancy many might have met with as much of the King's mercy, as now they suffer

*Vid. Six Papers.*

suffer under the effects of his *Justice*, and might have hinder'd a *Society* from returning to its *Primitive* Institution; where some that possess it now, may upon another score, be too ready to observe, that *in the beginning it was not so*.

The Dr. tells us we are to be govern'd by *Law*, and not by the *Excesses* of *Government*; but if he can tell me from any Reign since the Conquest of the *Normans*, that there were not greater *Excesses* of *Government* complain'd of, and greater us'd, (as in a particular Treatise I have prov'd: ) I'll grant him the *Dispensing Power* to be the greatest *Grievance*; Discontents, and Jealousies, under any Revolution of State, do only shift sides, and are never wanting in a Government where the People can but make a Party; had those Presidents of *Excesses*, which I cited from our former Reigns, but made for the Doctors purpose, that had been *Law*, which is now *Excess*, and a *Dispensation* for the great Outrages that were committed upon the Church in *Edw. 6th's* Reign, before any Parliament had authoriz'd it, it seems was truly *Law*; which as it was a power to save Men from being hang'd for *Sacrilege*; so many will tell us too it was a sort of *destroying the Government*.

The *R. Cath.* I am confident, will be glad to hear, that the Severities, by which they have so unreasonably suffer'd, and that so long, have been only the result of the *Protestants* fears, and not so much their deserved Punishments for any perpetrated Crimes: When the Elector Palatine had mov'd the King of *France*, that he would tolerate all the *Hugonots*, to Preach in *Paris*, he return'd him the like motion, that all the *Catholicks* might be allow'd to say Publick Mass in his *Capital City*; if we must exclude them from all employment, because of the dangerous Consequence under a *Catholick King*; must not they

*Ibid. Parag. 6.*

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they think themselves as much beset with *dangers*, when they shall have none but their Enemies in Office under a *Protestant Successor*? and if they then should move to be the *only persons employ'd*; would it not be as strange a Request as what is made now, that none but *Protestants* must be so? neither will this *Establishment*, and Constitution of the State, make any great *disparity* in the *Parallel*, unless it be to the disadvantage of those that would make the *difference*; for if *Protestants* will plead their *Penal Laws*, their *Tests*, their *prescription* of an *hundred and fifty years* possession and enjoyment; in *bar* to their Pretensions, it will put *Papists* upon the *retrospect*; how they came to be thus *excluded*, and discover that they had for above *five hundred years* before, all the *Laws of Church and State* on their side, and none others heard of, or admitted into *Office and Employment*; and therefore, when the Doctor tells us, that in *Holland the Government is wholly in the hands of Protestants*; *Papists* will be apt to return, *they know how it comes to be so*; that both *Holland and Zealand*, sided with those of *Flanders* at first in the *Pacification of Gaunt*, to leave the *governing* part both of *Church and State* in the hands of the *Catholicks*, but that when they came to *Reform* farther, and grew more powerful, nothing less would serve the turn than the *Union of Utrecht*, by which they were to be left to *govern* themselves as they pleas'd, and when their famous City of *Amsterdam* that now priviledges *all Subjects* as well as *all Religions*, to its *immortal honor* made the stoutest resistance for the sake of their *old Laws and Religion*\* (and its neighbour *Harlem* never resisted their King so stoutly, as this fought for him) for it was *Besieg'd* by Sea and Land, and at last yielded *only* upon these honourable Terms: That their *former faith* should continue *establish'd*, their *Magistrates* confirm'd, yet were forc't to admit *against* their *Capitulation*, a *Garri-*  
son,

\* Note, this was but about an 100 years ago.

*son*, against their *Articles of War*, new *Articles of Faith*, and for their old Magistrates of the *Peace* to be govern'd by the standing Officers of the *Army*; so it is not fit it should be known *how the Government came to be wholly there in the hands of Protestants*, for fear it should reflect too much upon *Promises too, that were not well kept*, and that the same should become the seat and refuge for all sort of *Sectaries*, that was once such a *Celebrated City for being at Unity with it self*.

I need not take much pains to show why my *Presidents* from the *reign of Edward 3d.* might be recommended to the practise of *this*; since he gives *no* reason why they should *not*, unless his Authority be such in *History*, as some Dogmatists are said to have had in the *Schools*; a *Dixit*, and *indisputable*; if I mistake not our *British Annals*, cannot boast of a more Glorious and Auspicious *Reign*; both for our *Foreign Expeditions*, and victorious *returns*, two Neighbouring *Kings* a sort of Prisoners to our *own*; two Kingdoms but little better than our Tributarys; the Misfortunes of *Scotland*, the Fate of *France* will furnish us with too much matter to make those times for ever fam'd, and his *present Majesties* most *Heroick* mind, and *military* disposition may tell us too, that they can be *imitated*; I cant discover why the *latter end* of this King's Life may not be recommended as much for *imitation*; the recovering of the Kingdom of *Castile*, for its lawful Lord, and another expedition into *France*, were both such Actions of the renowned Prince his *Son*, by which the Nation cannot suffer much in the *Consummation* of his *reign*: but if any thing may make the *latter end* not to be *imitated*; it may by some people be thought to be the Disturbances in the *Discipline* of the *Church*, which was like to have made as great a Commotion in the *affairs* of the *state*, for it

was in this *latter end*, that *Wickliff* divulg'd his *new doctrines*, drew in a great many Profelites among the *Common People*; and made a Party among some of the *greatest Nobility* too; which terminated in this unhappy issue, to shew us too soon the dangers and disturbances that always must attend any *Innovation in Religion*: for the suppressing of this, *Gregory* the XI. wrote the Arch-Bishop, and Bishop of *London*; who cite *Wickliff* to appear at *Pauls*, whither he comes well attended with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Piercy* Lord Marshal; where they were no sooner come, but the *Spiritual* Lords fell out with the *Temporal*, the *Temporal* with the *Spiritual*; all about *Wickliff's* sitting down before his *Ordinary*, which the *Reforming Lords* in contempt to the *Bishops* contended for, and the *Profelited* Duke was so Zealous as to tell the Prelate he would pull down the Pride of him, and all the Bishops in *England*, pull him out of the Church by the Hair of the Head; I think fit to recite this, for fear the Dr. should find fault with me, as well as *Varillas*, for not telling him the occasion the *Bishops* found to leave the Court, and I think 'twas time for them to be gone. If the Doctor remembers, this seems somewhat of those *Sparks* that afterward sate both *Bohemia*, and *Hungary* in a *Flame*; to one of which places, if (I mistake not) this very person here cited, did in his Banishment repair, and to its misfortunes perhaps contribute, and as I think upon occasions like this, might be said to be begun that long War of Germany; and I do most professedly avow, that upon serious Reflection upon those miseries that attended the Reformation, which the Doctor has given me too much, and too sad occasion to consider and consult; I look upon this Juncture of the *latter end* of this Reign, very near that unfortunate Crisis of falling into all the Desolation and Calamities that.

Mid. Baker.

Mid. Reflect.  
P. 3.

that afterward befel those miserable Countries, *Bohemia, Hungary, Germany, France, and Flanders*, but tho' fate for a while suspended our *misfortunes*, or the Military King that Reign'd then, suppress those more early *divisions*; yet alas, the *Diversities of Religion* did too soon lay us waste, and not long since made us as *sad a Spectacle* to our Neighbours, as they had been to us in the same *Civil Wars*: A Body would have thought Dr. B. might have sooner found fault with the *beginnings* of this King's *Reign*, than his *latter end*; for I must confess it *began* in the *deposition* of his *Father*, or at best, but a *neecessitated resignation*; he being a Prince as *ambitious* of a Crown, as well as one that truly *deserv'd* to wear it; but this is a President that cannot but please him, the *transferring Allegiance* is such a singular piece of *Politicks*, in the Opinion of this Statesman, and helps so mightily to the constituting of some States, that he may be very desirous it should be *much imitated*.

But to come to another Instance of his *Excesses*, in which he does so *exceedingly* delight himself, and that is, those of *Richard the 2d's* Reign. I confess, 'tis another President of *Allegiance transferr'd*, but that with good Subjects does not presently *prove Excesses*; neither warrant their Disloyalty if they were *prov'd*; if the Proceedings of his Reign must not be *mention'd* because of its Tragical Conclusion, we shall be at a great loss for any Argument that may be drawn from the more Lamented Misfortunes of King *Charles the First*; I suppose the Doctor will say too, it was *Excesses* produc'd that *Tragedy*, (and some People will say the *Excesses of Conformity*;) but yet, I hope there might be good Laws made in his Reign, and what was there call'd *Excesses*, has been since found, but so much *Invasion* of the *Prerogative*; and perhaps, an Impartial Account of this King

*Vid. Reflect.*  
par. 6. pag. 5.

*Vid.* Parliam.  
Pacif.

King *Richard's* Reign will make that appear so too ; I had obviated this Objection before upon the *very place*, in observing that the tumultuous proceeding of the *Rebellious Barons*, (for I hope, by his leave, we may be so bold at home) and the ambition of the designing Duke of *Glocester*, could no more criminate that King's Reign, than excuse them from being *Rebels*.

*Vid.* Daniel  
and Trussel.  
*Vid.* Baker.

But since he will not be contented, let us examine what some Authors as honest as himself say of these *Excesses*, when the Parliament, or rather the Party of the Duke of *Lancaster* was assembled at his deposition, *Excesses* indeed were alledg'd, and so will ever be by those that *prevail*; but even among *those* there, some that thought them far from being *so*; the Loyal and Learned Bishop of *Carlisle*, made such a *bold* Speech in his defence, that his very *deposers* were silenc'd, and nothing but each mans *private* prospect of some *publick* favour, hinder'd their Conviction; the *new* King himself was very *cool* in the prosecution of the grave *old* Prelate, and could hardly be said to be *warm* in his acquir'd Government; but for all this, they thought fit to confine the *Loyal* Bishop for the *Liberty* that he took, his Crime being only a *bold Indiscretion*, for shewing them so soon the *badness* of their Cause: This King as *exceeding* criminal, as the Doctor would make him, had so strong a Party, tho' *depos'd*, that they thought fit to *deprive* him of his Life too, and to send him to his *Eternal* Crown, for fear he should take up again his *Temporal*; these are no good Arguments of his *Excesses*, or *ill* administration: *Hollinshead* that has somewhat of Renown for an Historian, tho' he does not in his work exalt his own Reputation with our Authors; he tells us, *this poor Prince was most unthankfully us'd by his Subjects, in no King's days were the Commons in greater Wealth, or*  
the

*Chron.* 3d. vol.

*the Nobility more cherisht*, and as these Tragical Conclusions were not imputed to *Excesses* by most of his Subjects at *home*, so it was as ill resented by Princes *abroad*; the King of *France* was so provokt with these Injurious Proceedings, that he acquainted his Lords with his *Resolution* of Revenge, and they shewed themselves as ready to take it too, but were too soon prevented by their taking away his *Life*, and then it was as much too late to serve him after his *death*. I am afraid the Doctor will be found to be *exceedingly* out here in his *Excesses*; but as *Excess* must serve his turn in one Reign, so it seems defect must do it in another. *Henry the 6th's feeble Reign* must support his Arguments against what he calls *Excesses* of Government in *Richard the 2d*. I am glad to see he has no *stronger* ones, and 'tis but a tacit giving up the Cause, to have recourse to such Subterfuges: *H. the 6th*, I hope, as *weak* as he was, was to *govern* according to *Law*, and for that, the more concern'd so to govern; so that the *force of the Prerogative* in such a *feeble Reign*, is but an Argument *a fortiori*.

The *Excesses* in *H. the 8.* time indeed were such, (since he's resolv'd to call them so) and came somewhat near that *absolute Power*, with which he so much affrightens and alarms us in his Libels; but I hope he will allow and think the Protestant Religion very much oblig'd to his *Excesses*, since they made the fairest Step to the *Reformation*, and were as well followed in the *Reign* that came *after*; some Writers will say, that those Parliaments that confirm'd his *Excesses*, were so far from *free ones*, that they were hardly allow'd the *Liberty of Debate*, much less to stand up for the antient Establishment of the Church: It was Criminal *then* to deny the *Court*, even in an House of *Commons*, and tho' King *CHARLES* the First coming to the House, only

*Vid. Dr. B's.*  
Preface to the  
History of the  
Reformation,  
where he calls  
him the *Possi-*  
*tion* of the *Re-*  
*formation*, *dri-*  
*ving thorough*  
*thick & thin.*

only for Members accus'd of High-Treason, was made such a Crime, as the *Breach of Priviledge*: It was look'd upon here as a *Point of Prerogative*, to come & command their *Votes*, or else certainly, such an Assembly suppos'd of the *Wiseſt*, as well as the *greateſt* Men in the Nation, could never have been prevail'd on, for paſſing ſuch Abſurdities and Contradiſtions into *Law*, for the making *lawful* Heirs *illegitimate*, and then to *legitimate* again, the ſelf ſame *unlawful* Heirs, to make one Daughter *ſpurious*, and then *another*; and at laſt, to make them *both* to be *legal* Iſſue with the ſingle Charm of, *Be it Enacted*. It is ſaid of that Aſſembly, that it can *do every thing but make a Man a Woman*; but here I think they went pretty *near that too*, and made *Women* what they pleas'd: In the *First Ann's* Caſe, *Incontinency* was made the Cauſe to divorce Her; In the *Second*, the *Defect* of *natural Inclination*, and only upon ſending down ſome Lords to the Lower Houſe; what *Marriage* he pleas'd was declar'd *unlawful*: It was not the *Roman Conſiſtory that was Lords of the Articles then*, or elſe they had hardly parted ſo ſoon with the *Supremacy*, though \* that *invidious* Reflection on that *Honourable Conſtitution* in *Scotland*, muſt come a little unkindly from *Proteſtants*, ſince if we believe the *Biſhop*, to thoſe *Lords* they are much oblig'd for the helping on the *Reformation*; in ſhort, ſince the Dr. lays ſuch a mighty Weight upon his getting all *warranted*, or *confirm'd* by Parliament, it is but a *weak* Support for the Confirmation of his Cauſe, for it will give ſome People the more occaſion to obſerve, that ſuch was once our *KING's* Authority over Parliaments, that they could obtain from the *Civil Sanctions* of the *State*, to ſacrifice the *Sacred Authority* of the *Church*, *Wives* and *Children*, *Women*, and *Men*, to his *Luſt* and  
*Anger*:

Vid. 25, 23,  
 35. Hen. 8.

Vid. Stow, An-  
 nals. p. 581.

\* Vid. Letter  
 to a Diſſenter.

Spotswood's Hi-  
 ſtory of the  
 Church.

*Anger*: His Parliamentary *Warrant* will do him but little Service in such *Excesses*, since His present *Majesty's* Proposals, I think are much more reasonable, which he desires only so to be *Warranted*; and if these *Excesses* are so ordinary in great Revolutions, some Persons may think this unexpected *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*, as great a *Turn*.

The Dr. very *wisely* passes by without any Consideration, all the Proceedings of *Edw. the Sixths* Reign, in which some may think that some *Excesses* were Committed too, and that even in the very two Points that His *Majesty* has solemnly declar'd to Defend us in, *Property*, and *Religion*: In the very *First* Year of that *Reign*, which the Dr. cannot be unacquainted with, it being so of the *Reformation* too: Did the Protector only by his Proclamation order all Enclosures to be laid open, which for some time had been enjoy'd by the Lords and Gentry, and was partly possess'd by them, by Vertue of those *Abby-Lands* they had from the *Crown*: The Duke knew this would gratify the *Common People*, and being desirous to be popular, he issues out this Commission of *Absolute Power*; (for all the Lords and Gentry look'd upon it as an Invasion of *Property*, especially when they were in such a Tumultuous manner thrown down): were *Abby-Lands* to be thus invaded now by a *Proclamation*, we might well complain of *Excess*. In the same Year were *Injunctions* sent forth, only the Order of the Council Board, over all the Kingdom, for altering all the *Old Ceremonies*, and way of Worship in the Church of *Rome*; several for opposing these Commissions and *Injunctions*, as something like *Excesses*, were punish'd, or sent to Prison: The Bishop of *London* was clap'd up in the *Fleet*, only for scrupling an Obedience, and that,

Vid. *Heyl. Reformation Ed.*  
the 6th.

Vid. *Acts and Monuments.*

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though

though he made most solemn submission, which is more, some People will say, than what has been done by some Successor since, upon a milder Test of Obedience, and a Process, less severe: *Gardiner* was Committed to the *Tower*, only for wishing these Proceedings might be delay'd till the King was more capable of the Government; *Durham*, *Rochester*, and *Chichester* for the same Disobedience were so serv'd; all of them dispossest of their *Bishopricks*, and what was worse, the *Bishopricks*, & Sees themselves dispossest, & reform'd from their *Revenues*: These *Excesses* could not but create great Disorders in the *State*, when they saw that what was call'd the *King's Proceedings*, was allow'd to be Law for the regulating of the *Church*; the several Rebellions of the *West* and *North*, that follow'd meerly upon these *Excesses* of *Reformation*, had too Tragical Conclusions to relate, and so the Dr. took care lest they should be mentioned; the suppression of which, did not end without a *Western* and a *Northern Campaign*, and a great deal of *Blood* and *Severity*: Sir *Will. Kingston's* pleasant Cruelty in the *West*, his Landlords, & the *Millers* Tragedy, do declare: & *Northumberland* in the *North*, is so well known, that I'll engage, the Doctor confesses it a thing which help'd to facilitate *Q. Mary* to the Throne. In short, it appears plain from the History, that the Protector saw that Reformation could not be carryed on without Arms, that therefore he made the War in *Scotland*, a Pretence to take them up, and for this, he brought in *Germans*, and *Walloons*, though the coming over of our own *Irish* now is made a Terror and Astonishment; the Elections of the Bishops was then given to the KING, for the Ends of Reformation, of which 'tis now too late to repent.

In the next President we are reflected on again, because *Q. Elizabeth's* Power in Ecclesiastical Matters was founded on an *Act of Parliament*, which the Dr. says was in a great measure repeal'd in King *Charles* the First's time, and that Repeal again in *Charles* the Second's ratify'd; this Authors Argument of a *Parliamentary* power was little to his advantage in his Reign of *Hen. 8.* not at all for his purpose in the *First* of *Edward* the Sixth; for there those great Alterations in *Church* and *State* were made *before* the Parliament was call'd, meerly by *Injunctions*, Orders of the Protector, or the Council Table, and that *absolute* power authorised by the specious Name of the *King's Proceedings*: This was the *Original* of that *Arbitrary Law*; and Queen *Mary* might well write after such a *Copy*; but the Dr. does most *designedly* misapply to our Presidents in Queen *Elizabeth's* time this *Parliamentary* power, as well as he *designedly*, and *wisely* omits it in *K. Edw.* Reign, because he knew he could not *apply* it; for if he'll but examin one of the Cases I put him in the Queens Reign, about Her *dispensing* with the *Latin Service* to be read in *Collegiate* Chappels, and the *Universities*, contrary to an *express proviso* of an *Act of Parliament*, for the sake of *Reformation*; and the applauded Opinion of *Moor*, that the *Queens power* of *Non Obstante* was good, even against the *Non Obstante* of an *Act of Parliament*, to that Her Power; he'll find that some of Her Affairs and Proceedings were so far from being founded on *Acts of Parliaments*, that She *acted* without them, and upon Resolutions that were given to illude and invalidate their *power*: so that in short, the Dr. would *apply* the Case of the *Court of Commission*, founded by the First of Her Reign, to justify the Legality of all that She did, even to those

things that She confesses, She *dispens'd* withal contrary to Law: were we to play like Children at *Cross-purposes*, the greatest *non-sence*, and most *insipid* Answers would serve, & pass, for the more *Ingenious Diver-sion*; I told the Dr. what She *dispens'd* with, contrary to the very *Parliaments Act*. It is Answered of something She did that was founded upon an *Act of Parliament*; but now, because we'll keep to the *purpose*, we'll examin this Her *power* in Ecclesiasticals, founded on the *First* of Her Reign, and see how far it makes for our Authors Apology: he says this was in a great measure Repeal'd in the Year 1641. the Dr's Excellencies lying more in *Chronology*, than the *Statute-book*. It is a known *Act* of 17th. *Charles the First*, that does in some measure, as he says, (and I am glad he keeps to any) repeal it; I will not insist on the occasion of such a *Repeal*, and the juncture of Affairs that forc'd it, though I must confess the *Reasons* of Laws, can never be recollected, but by Reflection on the *State* of those Times, in which they were made; and that makes a sound *Historian* somewhat of the necessary part of a good *Lawyer*; and from History 'tis most deplorably known, that this *Repeal* was procur'd in the Year that this *Rebellion* commenc'd by a *Parliament*, the defence of which has been made *Præmunire* and *HIGH-Treason*; by that which enforced the *Triennial* Parl. into a *perpetual* one, and which was afterward with so much abhorrence, and such an *ignominious* Character repeal'd: But all that appears of this *Repeal*, of the 1st. of *Elizabeth*, from the Opinion of the Lawyers, and the examining the *Act*, is the power of the Commissioners *fining* and *imprisoning*, which was look'd upon as *oppressive*; and therefore my Lord Cook in his Argument upon that case (who for

17 Car. 1. Vid.  
Keeble.

Vid. 12. 13.  
Car. 2. Vid.  
Colleges Try-  
al.

4. Inst.

for a time was no great Prerogative Lawyer, or would not be so) says, that this Act was only a *restoring* to the King, *His antient Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, which the Commissioners extended so far, as *injuriously* to fine Offenders upon it beyond their Power; this *usurped Power* some people are of opinion, is only by that Act repeal'd, though I do not doubt but that Parliament would have willingly comprehended in it, all the *Inherent, Antient, Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, that ever appertain'd to the King and Crown, and even by special Act here, under Catholick Princes has been declar'd so; so that indeed, as the Dr. says, it is but in a *measure* repeal'd; and by express Words in the *Repeal*, of Abuses of the Power only prevented; so that it could not take away, or deprive the Royal Authority from that *unquestionable* Prerogative of *Commissionating* any number of Persons in *Ecclesiastical* Matters that do not exercise such an *extensive Jurisdiction*: and therefore to reflect upon the present Court that is of *another* nature, and a new Creation, as put down and repeal'd with that of Queen *Elizabeths*, is no more an Argument, than that Queen *Elizabeths Commission* was reviv'd, when but so lately King *Charles the Second* delegated His *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, and Disposal of *Preferments* to some Persons, that are most now living, though perhaps, some of them the readiest to Dislike their present Proceedings: It is plain, that the King's Power in *Ecclesiastical Matters* was never meant should be infring'd from that *Repeal* by this *Ratification* of it in the *Late King's Time*, whatever the *First Faction* Legislators in it might intend; for as you see this *Late King* did in a sort make use of it, so in this very *Ratification*, as the Dr. calls it, is Provided, that as it shall not extend to the *Jurisdiction* of *Archbishops, Bishops*, so nei-

17 Car. 1.

Vid. Stat. Car-  
lisle, &c.

13 Car. 2.

ther.

ther to *Vicar-Generals*, or Persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the King's Commission: If the Dr. will *cavil*, only because the *Word-Court of Commission* is not expres'd, his Cause will hardly be the better for such a *peevish Exception*, since the Constitution of a *Vicar-general* would be as *little Kindness* to the Church, as it was in the *Excesses* of its first Establishment under *Henry the Eighth*, which we see His Majesty, as *excessive* as the Dr. would make Him, has not hitherto *reviv'd*; but should a *Parliament* restore the very Court of *Queen Elizabeth*, it would be reckon'd among such men, as *illegal*, and only the King's *Excesses* in the *Government*.

I here shall help him to another Set of *Excesses*, since such Prince's *Proceedings* must be call'd so, when they do not quadrate with our Authors *Subject* and *Design*, which at another time must pass for *good Law*, when they make but the least for His *purpose*; some People perhaps are of opinion, That the Two *Tests* were past after a sort of *Excess* in the Government; the World now knows *one* of them was made, when the Parliament was *exceedingly* impos'd upon with *Falseness* and *Perjuries*; and as *exceedingly* transported with a *Zeal* that look'd too, so much like *Fury*; so that if a man consider their origination, and the Circumstances of Affairs, when these Laws were made, instead of keeping them upon the File after the rest are repeal'd, there will appear more Reason, even from the *Doctor's Excesses*, for repealing them the *First*.

The Conquest of the Kingdom gave a great Latitude to the *1st. William* in point of Government, which his *Arms* having acquir'd, he found himself the less limited by the *Laws*, though he profess'd to Rule by it;  
and

and few of his Successors since, that by their own Acts have oblig'd themselves, but afford us Instances in greater *Excesses* of Government than any we can now complain of. He is said to have invaded the Jurisdictions of the Prelates, and seiz'd their Treasures, not sparing his own dear Brother *Odo*. *William the Second* tax'd his Subjects at pleasure, by the Power of his Prerogative, was as severe upon the *Clergy*; and *Westminster-Hall*, since the Seat of *Justice*, was look'd upon by the People, as built on purpose to countenance his unjust Taxations. The *Ne exeat Regnum* was repin'd at as a Grievance, and in that Reign might be said to Commence. The making Mutilation, and Corporal Punishment, Pecuniary in *Hen. the First's* Reign; the Confiscations, and Bishop of *Salisbury's* Case, in King *Stephen's*, were made matter of *Excesses*, in such \*Authors too. *Henry the Second* resum'd by his own Act, Lands, that had been sold, or given from the Crown, by his Predecessors; and against this *Excess* I think His present Majesty has given us good assurance in His *last* Declaration, since the Dr. labours so much upon the *absolute Power* of the *Former*. Of *Richard the First* it is Reported, That he feign'd his Signet lost, and so put out a Proclamation, That those who would enjoy the Grants by the former old one, must come and have it confirm'd by the *New*; he pawn'd some of his Lands for the *Jerusalem* Journey, and upon his Return would have resum'd them without *Pay*. The Exactions of King *John*, and his exercising such a severe Authority over the Church, Fining severely for suppos'd Crimes, I suppose our Author thinks should be *least mentioned*, because it produc'd the *Barons Wars*; but no one will say they were the *better Subjects*, whatever were the King's *Excesses*. *Henry the Third*, some say,

\* Vid. Bacon's  
seditious Book  
of the Govern-  
ment of En-  
gland.

was.

*Phil. Reflect.*  
Parag. 6.

was so like his Father, that he succeeded him (if they must be call'd so) in his *Excesses* too, in resuming alien'd Lands, in Fines, in making advantage of the Vacancies of the Church. The Proceedings of *Edward* the First against his Clergy, putting them out of his Protection, seizing upon their Goods; and *Edward* the Second's Confiscations after the Defeat of the Earl of *Lancaster*, this Author will call *Excesses* too; though I cannot see why they may not all have the more moderate Names of the *King's Proceedings*, as well as when all things were so warranted in the Reign of *Edw. 6th*.

As we had begun with these Observations on our King's antiently Exercising of an *Unlimited Power*, (which in other Treatises I have shewn, and which our Author (if he will) shall call *Absolute*) from the Reign of *Edward 3d*. So here the Dr. may observe these Presidents deduc'd down to that Time too; and so cannot but see that such *Excesses* are inseparable from the Government, and perhaps a Prerogative that Sovereignty cannot *well*, or *will* not be without; and if Subjects must be allow'd to Censure and Reflect on their Princes *Proceedings*, it is morally impossible that they can provide against all their Clamours and Complaints: the *Necessities* of State will many times force them to some *Excesses*: and *Diversities* of Opinions and Parties, and now the too much to be lamented *Divisions* in Religion, will ever make those *Proceedings* seem *just* to one side, that are look'd upon as *injurious* by the other. Our Author will oblige the Roman Catholicks very much, if he will justify for Law, all the *Proceedings* of Queen *Eliz.*; and I'll engage he shall have the *Thanks* of the *Society*, as *heartily* as he had that of the *House*; for in the First Year, *before* any Act of Parliament had past for Alterations, *Ima-*  
*ges*

ges were *defac'd*, and *Altars demolish'd*; by Her *Proclamations* She put down all *publick Preachers*, but such as were *Licens'd* by Her *Authority*; the business of the *Reformation*, and Altering of Religion (if we believe *Baker*) was Carryed in Parliament but by *Six Voices*, and will give Catholicks occasion to say, That notwithstanding the present Clamours about *Regulating Elections*, great Artifices were us'd then too, to bring it about, and but by *Six Votes*, at last the *Weighty Cause* of Religion was *over-ballanc'd*: 'Tis certain, that *Excesses* were then Complain'd of too, and it was murmured about, even in the Lower House it self, that the Parliament was *pack'd*, that the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Arundel*, and Sir *William Cecil*, for their own Ends had *solicited Votes*, and made a Party: These *Irregularities* may serve to silence some Peoples unreasonable and indiscreet Clamors at present, since they can be so soon *retorted*, and which I urge only, to shew the Consequence of such *ill-manag'd* Objections, and not to *justify* and *defend* them.

*Bakers Chron.*  
p. 330.

Id. p. 331.

## SECT. X.

AND now that I may be *grateful* in my Acknowledgments, as I shall ever be for any *Favours*: I must confess this Author has assisted me with one President more, and the Dr. would do well to be so fair in some of his Writings, as to own his Authorities: It is the Case in the Late King's Time, where he *repeals* an Act about the size of *Carts*, and *Waggons*: To Answer this, our Author Appeals to the *Lawyers*, and the Gentlemen of the *Long Robe*, though he will not stand by the Judgment of the *\*Twelve Men in Scarlet*,

*Vid. Reflect.*  
Parag. 6.

\* This *Sarcasm* was *Marvel's* before it was *Burnet's*.

Vid. Langb.  
Considera-  
tion. pag. 6.

Let, that to their knowledge, some Laws are understood to be Abrogated *without a special Repeal*, when some *visible Inconvenience* enforces it: when this comes to be impartially considered, it will be a *granting* of all that he contends against, and the *Tests* and *Pænal Laws* will expire of their own Accord; by this Authors inconsiderate Resolution: It is one of the very Arguments of a late *Catholick* Lawyer upon the *Dispensing Power*, and so as the Dr. wisely appeals to them; they as civilly answer him, *that he is in the right*: The Dr. did not foresee the Dangerous Consequence amongst Lawyers of his *visible Inconvenience*; for the Law has such an Aversion to this *Inconvenience*, that it maintains as a Maxim, that a *Mischief is better suffered than an Inconvenience*; now putting the Case thus, That a Legislative Power may possibly pass into Law, what may prove a *visible Inconvenience* to the whole Kingdom, or a great Part of it; that a great part of the Kingdom, and the King himself do judge the *Test* and *Pænal Laws* very *inconvenient*, that they have been *really* found so to the Subject, that the *KING* has in this Case too declared Himself satisfy'd of this *Inconvenience*, and the *People* address'd against it, as *intolerable*, then from his own President and Concession it must be concluded, that either *these Laws* must expire of themselves, that there must be some Sovereign Power, such as the *KING's* to *dispense* with them, and that it is very fit for a Parliament to *repeal* them; for certainly it must conclude *a Fortiori*, that the *Inconvenience* that is found in *forcing of a Conscience*, is of a greater Consideration than an *inconvenience in a Cart Wheel*; neither does that *abrogating* of his without a *special Repeal*, make any difference; for their *expiring by disuse*, is indeed the self same thing as the *Royal Dispensation*,

*Dispensation*, for in Laws once made, the *Sovereign Authority* is solely entrusted with their *Execution*, and where the KING does not command the *Judges* to execute, or expressly forbid it, no man of sense but will say that this is a *perfect Dispensation*.

Our Author is very *unlucky* in touching upon some Instances that do him some *Disservice*, and in this more *especially*, since I cannot but observe, that when these *Penal Laws* about *Carriages*, and *Encouragement of Navigation* were so *erroneously* made; and People solicitous about the *repealing* them, one of the designs of the greatest Ministers of State that they then had in *Holland*, was for embroyling us at *home*, upon the *same* Account, that they might appear the more formidable abroad, as well as we *weaken'd* by those *Severities* that occasion'd our *Divisions*, which *visible Inconvenience* was then too in the *same manner*, upon the *same* *Maxims* *dispens'd* with, and prevented, only 'tis somewhat *strange*, that this *darling Liberty* of *theirs*, by which *they* were so *gloriously* founded, and for so long time have so *finely Flourish'd*, should seem so *dangerous* in our Country, and from the *goodness* of the *Soyl*, could only prosper in *theirs*; but where *Trade* seems a sort of *Religion*, 'tis time to be *jealous* of such *Neighbours* that would also learn this *Ecclesiastical Policy* to make of their *Godliness*, a *Gain* too.

Our Author says it is our *saying*, that the *KING's Dispensing Power* has put an end to the *Dispute*, whereas if he'll but *Read Books* before he *Answers* them, he'll find that we vouch'd his *own Authority* for so *saying*; and if he *Consults* his *Six Papers*, he'll find himself to say so, and that this *Dispensing* of the *King's*, is an *actual Repeal*, so that the *Justices Oaths* are unconcern'd indeed, as he *states* the *Case*, and their *Sins*

*vid. Six Papers.*

of Omission entirely remitted them by this Divines Authority; but I must confess, notwithstanding his forc'd Application of it, which was only offer'd to fasten the greater Odium upon the King's *Absolute Power*; I must really think those more understanding Gentlemen in Commission would have a less Obligation from their Oaths, should they conspire to get a *Parliamentary Repeal* notwithstanding the Dr's Representing it as a *Royal One*. That the *Dispensing Power* has no Reference nor Analogy to the *Power of Pardoning*, is but a single Dr's Opinion; for the *saving of Men*, and the *destroying of Government*, are in this point (whatever he fancy's) truly the same; for *destroying of the Government* does not consist in any particular Persons thinking such a thing will destroy it: want of *executing this dispensing Power* (some will say) has help'd to *destroy* it once already, and it continues a good Government still, after three Years practising it; but pray, would not the continual *saving of men for Felony and Murder*, embolden them so far with their Impunity, as to *destroy the Government*, and make it more monstrous than any Part of *Africa*: private Crimes are alway punish'd for the *publick Good*, and for that Reason, Felony is made so Capital, which otherwise for the Loss of a little Goods, could never forfeit a Life: And Lastly, for his mighty *MENACES*, with his

† *Dispensing Power*, for the future, the *Dissenters*, I suppose, and the *Jesuits*, that he so sacrifices to his Fury, will thank him for his *Warning*, consider what they are to expect from Men of his Mildness, and Moderation, and how he abuses those *\* Heroick Spirits*, which but just before were above all Cruelty and Revenge.

† *Id. Reflect.*  
Parag. 6.

\* *Id. Parag. 5.*

My Kindness to his *States Generals* (as I have confess'd to him before) is no more than what I have in general;

general; for all such *States*, whose Constitution is what is commonly call'd a *Republick*, or a *Commonwealth*; and if I have any more particular Aversion to that of *Holland* (since he will needs put it upon me) I must own it to be *only* for this Reason, That there is so little Reparation made, His Majesty for those Indignities that *Himself*, with the greatest Insolence has offer'd; a *Commivance* at such Affronts against *Majesty* was alwayes accounted among *Princes* and *Allyes*, as injurious a *Violation*, as an open Defiance and Justification; and I hope his Masters will not excuse themselves, because they are of no *Royal Extrac-tion*: It is the sense of *Civilians*, (and by their *Im-perial Law*, and its Construction, all *Treatises* and *Al-liances* are regulated and maintain'd) that a Body Politick in general does espouse those Offences and Pro-vocations, which in any particular Person, it does not. † *prohibit* and *suppress*; and that \* *Injuries* that are offer'd by *private Subjects*, do then affect the *Prince* and *People*. And with all submission to these learned Au-thors, and of undoubted Authorities: Dr. B's Case can be carry'd farther, and so with less Reason to be justify'd; some of these *Lawyers* (as we have shewn) are of Opinion, as well as our *Common* ones, That no *Allegiance* is transferable; and none will allow that it can be transfer'd any more, than for a *time*, and that tho' there be an *Allegiance* due for such a *Temporal* Protection, that will not divest of him that *Duty* he still owes to his *Native Country*, and his *Liege Lord*, which *Case* we shall prosecute farther, when we come to his second Parcel of *Reflections*, made in his own Justification; but this will greatly aggravate the *In-jury* that His Majesty suffers in the permitting one that has an *unalienable* Relation to his *Native Subje-ction*,

† Qui non pro-  
hibent tenen-  
tur.

\* Vid. Al-  
bert. Gent. Si  
Universita  
negligit illud  
factum emen-  
dare illaqueat  
ipsa se. Gros.  
de jure belli.

Zouch. our  
own Professor  
at Oxford. De  
jure feci ak-  
Pari. 2.

*tion* to disturb the *publick* Government, and defame the very *Person* of his *Sovereign*, only because he has acquir'd the *new* Denomination of an *Enfranchis'd* Citizen, and a Subject *naturaliz'd*; and if the *Natives* of any Nation are obnoxious to the *publick* for Reflexions upon their *peaceful* Allyes, how *accountable* are *those* that suffer an *Alien* so grossly to reflect upon the *Proceedings* of his *Prince*, and the *Transactions* of that Country, in which He was *born*.

The Veneration I ever had of that Awful Constitution of *Divine* Government, that is visible in a *state* of *Monarchy*, does indeed make me have less *Esteem* for a *Republick*; and though I am not *posses'd* with such a *Patriarchal* Piece of *Speculation*, as to prove the *Pedigree* of every *King* to be by *Discent*, in a *Right* Line, to Rule by a *Right, Divine*; for that would be indeed to *un-King* a great many *Princes*, and set up what they would persuade the most *Christian* did design, an *universal Monarch*; yet *still* without such *absurdity* we may maintain it for *Sense*, that a *single Sovereignty* seems to be of *Divine Institution*, and *Democracy* the Result of some *Revolt* and *Defection* from it; that this has been my sense, the World has long since seen in some Animadversions upon Mr. *Sidney's* Papers, and so this Author is most *injurious* to *me*, as well as *inconsistent* with *himself*, when he would insinuate my *Courting* of a *Common-wealth*.

Page 1.

As I've given some *little* Reason of this my kindness to *Republicks*, and his Case has given me *much* to have the *less* for that of *Holland*; so I must let them know too, that the *Respect* and *Regard* any good Subject ought to have to all that are in *Alliance* with his *Sovereign*, has hinder'd me from saying many things that would have more *severely* reflected, and which  
after

after all this Provocation of this Authors Pen, might have past for a *just* Retribution. I am not so ignorant my self, as not to know that *Licenses* and *Imprimaturs* are not so frequently in use among the *Dutch*, and that the *Licentiousness* of the *Press*, is as *popular* and *plausible* there, as that most applauded Policy of *Liberty of Conscience*; the most *Christian KING* is as sensible of this, as His *MAJESTY* of *Great Britain*: The *Writings* of some of His *protected* Subjects, affect *His Honour* as much; as our Authors have endeavoured to blast His *Majesty's* Reputation; and 'tis well known to those that travel, if they'll find any *Libels* upon any *Crown'd Heads*, they must look for it in *Holland*; and our Author (I think) has help'd the curious Enquirer there, to a great deal of this *lewd* Speculation. The *Considerations* of the *State* of the *united Netherlands*, That was printed there before the last War; no man will say but that was an *Act* of the *State*, and that had no more *publick* an *Imprimatur*, than *Dr. B's Papers*, so that such *Writings* as are permitted to be publish'd there, without any *animadversion* on the *Printer*, or the more *Celebrated Author*, is as much an *Allowance* of the *State*, as any *Licence* from one of our *Secretaries*, or the *Lord President* himself, especially, when *Reparation* for such *Injuries* has been *demande*d in a *publick memorial*, and *manifesto*, and instead of *punishing* such *Offences*, the *Offenders* are encourag'd to farther and severer *Reflections*, and that perhaps, with a *promise* of *Impunity*. Since this Author will make his *Quarrel* a *National* one, (which I should think a *wise People* would not suffer to gratify but a *single mans Malice*;) It is but just that we shew too, what *Party* were the *first Aggressors*, and how *easy* 'tis for our *English* to make their *Justi-*  
*fication*:

*fication*: I must profess, that while our Author is permitted there so scandalously to reflect upon His Majesty's Proceeding, Common Justice will oblige us to return the *same* Animadversions, while no Memorial of theirs can with any Modesty represent it as *Injurious*: In the mean time, I shall confine my self to these more particular Vindications of the KING and Kingdom, where the Calumnies of his most malicious Papers have sufficiently affected both; and let him know that I as little fear the *Resentments* of his States, as he seems to do the juster Indignation of the King of England.

Vid. Pag. 7.

\* D. W.

To put us in mind of the Circumstances of our State, before the beginning of the Dutch War, and to parallel it with the present time, is another unlucky Topick of our Authors; and a wise man would think, might have been better let alone; It will make us recollect that indefatigable Industry of one of their \* Greatest Ministers against the slackning of these Laws, that our Divisions amongst our selves might the sooner sacrifice us a Prey to our Neighbours, and the more secure some of them from His Majesty's asserting of His just Rights. I hope our Author has no Commission for the denouncing War, nor any design upon the Chain at Chattam, that he talks of Invading a State, and threatens us with their Resentment and Preparations; If Time must shew that, 'tis time too to look to our selves, but I dare not detract so much from the Wisdom of their Lordships, his new Masters, as not to think they will not call him to an Account now, for abusing themselves, though with greater Decency they might suffer it against his Sovereign; this is intermedling with Peace and War; nay, even a denouncing it before the States Generals, I am confident have taken it into Consideration.

*Consideration*, we do not hear yet, they have agreed to any extraordinary Contributions for it; there has been no Pole yet, nor the hundredth Penny, nor any Imposition upon Travellers, but as formidable as our Author would make them, whose Interest it is to magnify his *Protectors*; this Historian must remember too that the Valour of his *repudiated* English, has heretofore as *victoriously* engag'd them, and that when assisted with two Crowns in *Conjunction*, and in that *juncture* too, when we had more *merciless* Enemies at *home*, when the Almighty made himself indeed a *consuming Fire*; and the *Destroyer* walk'd before it in *darkness*, and a *devouring Plague*: Two entire Victories were return'd us from the Sea, to triumph over the *Misfortunes* that the land lay under, and in the *third* Attack as unequal as we were in *strength*, was by the *weakness* of *both* sides, left *undecided*; an Action, in which 'twas *Glory* enough, only to have been the *Aggressors*: The *Courage* of the Dr's *deserted* Nation was then confess'd by some of their great *Ministers* that would have so fomented our Divisions, and found too much the Effect of the *slackning of these Laws*; one would think that the *Jealousy* of such Neighbours should weigh with Men of *Sense*, that it is a *sincere Design* to establish and continue with us both *Liberty* and *Religion*, since it appears so much a *visible* Interest, & almost an *unavoidable* Necessity: If a *visible Inconvenience* will warrant a *Repeal*, why will not an *Interest* as *visible*, secure us *after* it; & 'tis *strange*, that a *Protestant People* can make no difference between an *invisible* Establishment of the *Catholick Religion*, and a *visible* Necessity that the *Papist* have to *preserve* themselves from a \* *threatned Ruin*.

It is such a *peculiar* Confidence, that it becomes none but our *Author*, or is no where but in him to be *found*,

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to

† Refl. par. 6.

\* Vid. Reflect.  
p. 6. *ibid.*

to tax us so *unreasonably* for *Reflecting* on a *State*, to which we have *nothing* of *Relation*, and that only in *Matters* of *Tradition* and *Truth*; at the same time that he *vilifies* a *Crown'd Head*, to which he *owes* an *Obedience*, and that with *Forgery* and *Falseness*: The Defence of *KING* and *Country* (I think) is every *Subjects* Concern by *Nature*; if it were not commanded also by *municipal Law*; and that leads me to justify ourselves, both in the *Tripple Alliance*, and the *Business* of the *Smyrna Fleet*, **both** which he upbraids us with as *naturally*, as if he had been a *Native* of *Holland*, and no need of being *naturaliz'd*, though I cannot but think that those that *revile* their *Allies* for *old Breaches*, *betray* too much their willingness to make *new*: That *Alliance* that was between *Chem*, *Us*, and the *King* of *Sweden*, had in it *this Conditional Clause*, *That the Confederates were to assist one another, if for the sake of their entering into such a League, they were at any time by any other Party invaded*; the *King* of *France* declares a *War* soon after against the *Dutch*, it did not appear from his *Declaration*, that *their* entering into this *Alliance* was the *Reason* he declar'd it, and that it was therefore his *revengeful War*, which are *Words express'd* in the *Articles*; for then he had the same *Revenge* to take against the rest of the *Allies*, against whom he *denounc'd* no war at all, and it is a *Rule* in such *Leagues* as well as a *Maxim* among the † *Civil Lawyers*, that an *Obligation* that is *conditionally* specify'd, must not extend as if it had no *condition*, and were *unlimited*; and for *this Reason* did the *Dutch* \* *insist* so much upon *that Point*, that the *War* which threatned them from *France*, was only upon the *Account* of *that Alliance*, which as it did not appear, either from any *Discovery* that could be *made*, or the *Declaration* that was *publish'd*, so it could.

† Qui se sub-  
jecit in qui-  
busdam vide-  
tui se servasse  
in reliquis li-  
berum, Alber.  
Gen. de Fure.  
Belli, lib. 1.  
\* Vid. their  
Considerat.

could not oblige *England*, unless she would have been so forward to have engag'd in the War upon *presumption*, and that the *Swedes* were of the *same* opinion, appear'd from their *neutrality* and *indifference*: This is that famous Violation, for which we must be so much reflected on; this is what the *Dutch* were pleas'd to call a *Breach*, and which if it were in the least to be look'd upon as *such*, they were only oblig'd for it to their sam'd Friend that fled to them too for *Protection*, who was *naturaliz'd* also, after the *deepest Conspiracy* detected against our *KING*, and who was celebrated for the only Author of that *uncharitable Aphorism*, *Delenda est Carthago*.

## S E C T. X I.

I N the next place, for his *Heroical Attempt* (as he calls it) on the *Smyrna Fleet*; it seems his *Memoirs* must not omit any thing that will afford (as he thinks) matter to deface the Memory of a Prince, to whom the *Church of England* had the *greatest* Obligation; the *Life* of the late Lord *Rochester* was not so *severely* Examined, as this *King's* Actions are by this most faithful Historian: 'Tis a *compendious* way to Libel with a *Reflection*, and Abuses may be easily fasten'd, when the Authors *Credit* must pass muster for an Accusation. One would have thought the *Dutch* might have been contented with their own Advocates, and that the *Confiderr* of their *State*, had in these matters made as much of Apology for them, as the Case could bear; but it is with an *ill* Grace indeed, and somewhat *unnatural*, to see a sort of *human Vipers*, work their Wits and their Way thorough the Bowels of their own Mother Country;

Ref. parag. 7.

try; *Englands Appeal*, and *Marvel's Popery*, were the first and *only Reflections* that Libell'd these Actions, till our Author came in with another *Supplement*, but those being all such *discontented Creatures*, *Creatures depending* on the *Little Lord*, that then lost the greatest Place in the Law, the Credit of such Authors, is as much to be believ'd, as the Conspiracy of the Court? But this *Attempt* upon the Fleet; when it comes to be examin'd, has so much *Colour* for the Justice of that Encounter, that there was first broke several *Articles of Peace*, before that ever we could be said to begin the *War*; those very Ships refus'd us in our *own Channel*, the Right of the *Flagg*, by which it was lawful for ours to seize, or destroy them; and the Captains that then Commanded, had it for *Express Commission* to stand upon that *Antient Regality*; and besides, it is known that the *Dutch* had defended *Van Ghent* in the like obstinate denial before; so that now it could not be excus'd as a *private Persons* inconsiderate Default, since whole Fleets were resolv'd to maintain it, and their Masters had given them incouragement so to do; this was (I think) an *Heroical Breach* too upon one of the *Articles of Breda*; and all *Leagues and Unions* (if I am not out in my Reason and Law) are such Acts, as are *Aggregate* in themselves, though the constituent Clauses that compose them, have a great deal of *individual Variety and Texture*, to the *twisting* them together, of which, if but one *Twigg* is taken out, it presently *loosens* the whole *Band*: We had been upon a long Accommodation, and all *fruitless*, *Embassyes* and *Applications* could not prevail; so that even *declaring* of a *War*, had it been actually *design'd*, was never requir'd by the Laws of it in *such a Case* as previous; and i'le engage i'le get their own Country-man, \* *Grotius* himself,

\* 19. Artic.  
of *Breda*, and  
others of the  
same Treaty.

\* *Grotius de*  
*Jure Belli, lib.*  
3. cap. 3.

himself to tell us so, that the *denouncing* of it, is many times *conditional*; and then a *Violation of Articles* on one side, is a sufficient *Indiction*, without any necessity of *declaring* it on *both*: we had demanded the Right of the *Flagg*, and it was deny'd us: This was by the Antients, call'd a \* *Clarigation*, and superseded ever rhat pure and *absolute Denuntiation*, which himself confesses needless too, when *satisfaction* is demanded from those that are *resolv'd to offend*; and *Servius* his Exposition on the *Leges Fœciales* appears to be the same.

\* Vid. *Pliny*.  
Lib. 22. 2.

But since he desires † *Instances* too, the *Romans* in the *Third Punick War*, without *denouncing* it, surpriz'd the *Carthaginians* for some of their *Violations*, so *Cyrus* did the *Armenians*; *David* for *Indignities*, the *Ammonites*, and for more *modern Examples*, the *Great War of Sweden* was carryed into *Germany*, before it was heard of on the *Continent*, that an Army was *Landed* on the *Isle of Rugen*, because contrary to *Articles*, the *Empe-rour* had oppos'd him in his War with the *K I N G* of *Poland*.

† *ibid.*

The reviving of *old Differences* was far from my *Design*, but since the Dr. will not have such *Actions* to be *forgotten*, it is a *Duty* I owe to the *pious Memory* of our *deceased Prince*, to the *Reputation* and *Honour* of the *Present*, to that *Native Country* that he so injuriously *reproaches*, to *defend* them from those *Calumnies*, that such a *Deserter* has cast upon them.

The *Revolt* and *Defection* of *some States*, for which he so *furiously* pursues me, I am afraid from the *foregoing* Relations of the *Fact* that he has forc'd me to, will appear in *spight* of *History* to disguise it, when even their *own Authors* do not pretend to *excuse* them from it; but this Dr. thought he must do somewhat

Id. Parag. 7.

extra-

\* Vid. *Parl.  
Pacific* p. 66.

extraordinary for his new Masters to merit such a generous Protection; and yet in this very Passage that he so pursues, we only put it in the case & words of a Commonwealth in \* general, without specifying the particular Country, to which we would apply it; which for decency's sake, and deference to that Alliance, and Authority, we did designedly forbear; but since our Author is so unquiet, I am afraid it was from the Result of the Application being so easy, which himself (perhaps) made the sooner, when he saw that somewhere it must needs touch; but as Subjects are oblig'd to a real Friendship to all that are ally'd to their Lord and Sovereign; so the necessity of such Obligation is somewhat superseded, where such Authors are suffer'd to defame and defy him.

Id. Parag. 7.

What other Authors have observ'd, as we are neither oblig'd in Justice to Answer or defend; so does it argue a defect of Matter, fit for a Reflection in our own Treatise, when he forces in Anothers, to fill up the measure of his Animadversion; But this (I hope) will appear too, from the History of the States; That if there were Roman Catholicks concern'd in the First Formation of their Government; it was only so far, as that they fought with them once for what was call'd their Antient Priviledges, which as soon as they were confirm'd to them, they were satisfy'd, and return'd peaceably to their former Obedience.

In the Pacification at Gaunt, tho' there was was omitted that Reservation of the deference that was due to the KING's Authority; yet it was afterward by Explanation annex'd, and for that Don John of Austria, then the Governour, confirm'd it, under the Names and Title of the Perpetual Edict, and that with the King's Consent and Approbation; who after so many Troubles and Revolutions, was glad to see his subjects render

der their Obedience, and by that their *own* Act, thought it sufficiently secur'd: But it seems there were those that design'd *further*; some of the Eminent among the *Calvinist's*, refus'd to subscribe that *Article* of Obedience to the KING's Authority, which was afterward annex'd, and so *spoyl'd* all the *good* Effects of this hopeful *Pacification*, created such Jealousies and Disturbance, that the Governour was forc'd to fly for his preservation to the strong Castle of *Namur*; they chuse their *Ruar*, model the Government anew, frame an Oath to renounce all Obedience to *Don John* the Governour; and so zealous were the *Reformers*, that the *Jesuites* of *Antwerp* for *refusing* it, were plunder'd, whose *Loyalty* then, was the only Crime of this *Society*, to which our Author has such a constant Recourse for his Reflexion. Soon after, they *associated* themselves into what they are now so fam'd for, the *United Provinces*; by that *Union* of *Utrecht*, which was made in order to the throwing off all Obedience to the *King* of *Spain*, which soon followed in Three Years after in that *Famous Instrument* Dated at the *Hague*, the Substance of which we recited *before*; so that in short, the Catholicks foreseeing the designed *Revolt*, took occasion to *withdraw* (as he words it) that is, to *return* to their former Obedience; and those *ill Inclinations*, which (he says) they *shew'd*, and which *put* them *out of the Government*, was indeed the Jealousie, that they had of their *Reserves* of Loyalty, and the Fear that they had, that they might spoil this *New Formation* of the *State*; the Obstinate Resistance of *Amsterdam*, and the foul Usage it met with after it had Compounded; shew us how they were *put out of the Government*, and how inclinable some Catholicks were to maintain the *poor Remains* of the *Kings* Authority: This is what our Author

25 Jan. 1581.

Ibid.

ibid.

thor calls a *Betraying the Country to the Spanish Tyranny*; such Aversion there is in a *Common-wealth*, against the Name of *Monarchy*, that our Reflector must keep it up for to merit, and make amends for his *Naturalization*.

The Dr. is indeed *unlucky* in his *Old Delenda*, upon which, if he'll rely, as an invidious Instance of the Malice of our *English* against his New Masters, the *Dutch*; it is nothing less than a Libel upon the Late Lord, whom not long since they look'd upon as their greatest Friend, who lovingly came to ly down his Life in that *Carthage*, which his Rhetorick once did design to *demolish*: That *Noble Lord* who was a great Instrument for Promoting in the *House*, to help our Author to the *Thanks of it*; the greatest *kindness*, to whose *Memory* in such Matters, would indeed have been to have *forgot him*: And such an *Amnesty* there was amongst them then, of all That Heroes *ill Inclination*; that their study was only, how to *Endear* him with the greatest Demonstrations of *Kindness* and *Courtesy*; so that our *inconsiderate* Author falls still upon the most *unfortunate* Touches, such as *abuse* the very Cause he would so willingly *defend*; and gives us another Occasion to Consider of another Subject to the KING of Great Britain, *fled for High-Treason, Protected from his Justice, by the kindness of the Common-wealth*.

† p. 6.

p. 8.

The *Inconsistency* of *Transubstantiation* is most *unseasonably* insisted on; at the same time that our Author is taking such Pains to be so *inconsistent* with himself; for as in this † Page he would persuade us how *easy* the Roman Catholicks are under their Government, so in the very next, he lets us know, (intimating their *Hardship*) that 'tis *they* that can best tell us, that *all Religions are not alike Tolerated*: 'Tis strange, that a Man should

should be so *unlucky* at *Reflexion*, and yet write so much: Mr. *Varilla's* Copy (it seems) can transcend the *Original*: We know, (though the Dr. would disguise it) that considering their *Services*, or for fear of their *Loyalty*, the Catholics there are but *hardly* dealt with; the Pacification of *Gaunt* was got to be *broken* by those that *form'd* afterward this Union of *Utrecht*, and tho' by *both*, a *Liberty* of Worship, and by the former, all *civil* Offices were reserv'd to them; yet by that taking of *Amsterdam*, we saw that *Promises* were too, either *kept* or *broken*; and by the late *Banishing* of Priests, that this Religion is not to be *equally tolerated*, though it was above *all* *Articled* for and *Compounded*. It is a pretty Piece of *Prescription* to say their *KING's* Predecessors *acknowledg'd* them a *State* almost an *Age* ago: It is not much above an *Age*, that they *made* themselves so, yet such an *Acknowledgment* (I hope) will no more warrant the *Revolt*, than the Late King's *taking* the *Covenant* at *Skeen*, could be said to *Confirm* and *Authorize* the *Rebellion* of the *Common-wealth* of *England*: This *forc'd* *Acknowledgment* was made but about *Forty* Year ago, *An. 1648.* by the *Munster Peace*; and this *unfortunate Vindicator* falls upon another *unlucky* Touch; this *Munster Peace* (I am afraid) will want not only a *little Excuse*, but as much as that of *Nimmeghen*; *Spain* was drawn in to that *Acknowledgment*, when some People by their *separate* Treaty, betray'd *France*; by their Plenipotentiary *Niederborst* & his Superiors of *Utrecht*, themselves *Condemn'd*, and of this *Peace*, the *Spanish* Embassador, *Le Brun*, avow'd, That in a little time they violated no less than 17 Articles.

All that know their History too, must know, That the *Priviledges* that were pretended, were never any *Compact* with the House of *Burgundy*, and so could not

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*oblige Spain*; they were united into that House by Marriages and Descent, and so descended to that of *Austria*: How the Provinces came first to be United in *Philip* the Good, who under one Government first began them, our Authors admir'd *Meteran* does fully describe; but though his peaceable Disposition, and the finishing his Quarrel with *France*, gave him no occasion to make use of the Excesses of his Power, yet his Son, *Charles* the *Hardy*, that succeeded him, the same Author lets us know, was indeed as his Name imported, a little more bold, and laid very great Impositions upon them: we do not hear *then*, of any *Seditions* that it occasion'd, or any *Priviledges* that they pleaded to resist. When *Mary* his Daughter was Married to *Maximilian*, by which Match they first fell into the Hands of the *Austrian* Family; to which, doubtless, descended too all the Power and Prerogative that ever was Lodg'd in the House of *Burgundy*; yet their *Allegiance* (you will see) did not follow the *Translation*, which ought doubtless, as justly to have *devolv'd*; for it was then old Privileges & Immunities were first pretended; & discontent arose, which more probably that *devolution* did *promote*, more than any *usurpations* of the Prince did *warrant* or *necessitate*; for it is natural for Subjects to acquiesce more under the Administrations of such Monarchs, to whose Government they have by some Descents, lineally been accusom'd, than with those Princes Sway, to which, by Collateral Descents, and Intervening Marriages, they look upon themselves somewhat unfortunately reduc'd and subjected; and (perhaps) this piece of *Policy* occasion'd that Salique Law in *France*, for which they may better plead this *Political Expedient*, than give us any just Reason for its *Original Institution*; for (doubtless) the Title to a Crown may be as justly transferr'd by Marriage, and its

Sobditis suis  
exactio num-  
onera gravio-  
ra imposuit,  
&c. Imperii  
propagationem  
medi-  
tans. id. lib. 1.

its Issue, as the Lawful Descents of common Inheritance, & with that too, be translated all the Power & Prerogative that ever was enjoy'd by any of the Predecessors; and 'tis a Maxim, almost of a divine Authority, *That all things are not Lawful that are Expedient*; but (doubtless) this *Alienation* of the Crown, whatever *Privileges* were pretended, gave occasion to their first Discontents, and Seditions in those Provinces in the Reign of † *Maximilian*, which *Meteran* compares to those that follow'd in *Philip* the Second's Time: But this Prince (notwithstanding his many Criminations) had no other Fault, than the bringing down the *German* Troops, which he was forc'd to, to preserve himself from the *French*; and when those old States Generals of *Burgundy* had Rebell'd, and imprison'd him upon Pretence of those Privileges: their Proceedings were so highly resented by Princes abroad, that the Pope threatned the Country to Excommunicate them, and the Emperor, with all the Princes of *Germany*, came down to his Assistance: This appears from this very *Meteran*; This Prince, the *describer* of their own Country (you see) represents as one, *whose Death was regretted by all, because of his most Commendable Government and Administration*; and yet, even then there were not wanting those, that upon *this* Pretence of Privileges, had imprison'd *this* PRINCE, as well as those, that upon the same Account our Author would defend for taking Arms against his Successor, and Grandson, *this Philip* the Second; so that this dangerous *Doctrin* of *Resistance* (our Dr's peculiar) for *breaking such Limits* (you see) will serve the turn, to the worst of *Subjects*, at any time, to *Rebell* against those that themselves confess to have been the *Best of Princes*.

*Charles* the 5th. kept them quiet enough; his *Fortune*,

† Le mesme Maximil. receut un notable affront de Flamans, qu'ils le garderent Prisonnier dans un Chateau, cet attentat n'a pas été sans punition, sa mort fût regrette lé de tous, a Cause de son Loüable Gouvernement. Description de l'Island, p. 308.

his *Fame*; and his *Forces*, were sufficient security to so great a Monarch; who if he was not *lov'd*, knew how to make himself *fear'd*: *Forreign Troops* might have given them *then* a better Pretence to Clamor and Insurrection, than ever it could in the *forgoing* Reign of *Maximilian*, or in that of *Philip's* that *follow'd*; and yet as *powerful* as he was, he governed them with as much *Clemency* too, and then left them to his Son and Successor, not *disputing* of their *Priviledges*, but *united* too in Obedience, as well as they were afterward in *Rebellion* and *Revolt*. But supposing such *Priviledges* broken and violated, had warranted such a *defection*, how comes it to *pass*, that so few of these Provinces were Qualify'd by *these Stipulations* to throw off their Allegiance? And if this *dernier Resort* by that Principle of *Democracy*, must be resolv'd into the *general Concurrence* of the Subjects, how comes a *particular part* of them to be empowr'd to alter the Monarchy? How comes an *Instrument* at the *Hague*, to be more Legal than the *Pacification* at *Gaunt*; or *seven* Provinces to exceed *seventeen*? This will credit *much* the *Catholick Party*, who for the most *part* return'd to the Obedience of their lawful Lord; and these Reformers that persisted in the *Revolt*, even to an *entire* defection, will have but little Pretensions to the *Priviledges* of the *Constitution* of their *Government*, after they have *entirely* *\*chang'd* it: This pleasant (I will not say frivolous) *Plea* of our Authors *Priviledges* is somewhat like what the *Dutch* made for themselves to King *James* the First; for the Liberty of *Fishing*, they pleaded a Treaty for it, between *Philip* of *Burgundy*, and our *Henry* the Seventh; between *Charles* the Fifth, and our *Henry* the Eighth, when by the *Instrument* at the *Hague*, they had renounc'd all relation both to *Burgundy* and *Spain*.

But

\*It is a question among Civilians, An idem populus censendus sit mutato Imperio, Zouch de Jure facial. p. 2. Sect. 1. & Aristotle absolutely denies it.

But since our Author has not confin'd himself to give *Reasons*, we will shew in short, *how* this came to pass: I am afraid this unfortunate Author will find that this his Zeal in the Defence of the Protestant Cause in general, will do it the greatest Disservice, as well as his particular Doctrin of Resistance did once disgust the particular Church of *England*: The *Reason* why the Treaty of *Colen* took no better Effect, was only from the force of the Faction that oppos'd it, and that meerly for sake of *Reforming* further: after all the Confirmation of their *Priviledges* was so freely offer'd,\* *Grotius* himself tells us it was not only the *Æmulation* and *Ambition* of some great Men among them, that hinder'd an *Accommodation*; but the perverse Zeal of the *Reform'd* for their *New Religion*, which never sufferr'd them to keep Faith, never to be contented with their Condition; this was the Reason, and our Author confesses it, that when the *Walloon* Provinces capitulated, and all things seem'd to face toward a dutiful Return; that some saw that such a *Peace* would prove in their Opinion worse than the *War*; and tho' they were asham'd openly to refuse such a Glorious Mediation as that of the Emperor himself, yet they secretly order the Matter so, that such Terms should be insisted on, which they knew their King could never grant; and that celebrated Author says it was then more than probable, that any reasonable Conditions might have been obtain'd, if some people had not set up their *private* and *pack'd Caballs*, for an interrupting of the *publick Peace*.

Our Author is as *unhappy* in this point too, as well as in all thote *unlucky* touches he has made; this insisting so much upon *antient Priviledges*, and Immunities, as it lost the King of *Spain* so great a part of his Country, so

\* Lib. 2.

Grot. id.

\* *Vid.* Deduct.  
Ordin. Hol-  
land. Part. 1.  
c. 4. *Self.* 1.

\*Holland. de-  
crees it *Apr.*  
19. 1581. The  
States gene-  
rals not till  
1582.  
Leo Aitzs.  
Revolut. p.  
166.

so from the *same* Faction that occasion'd *this Revolt* :  
and upon the *same* Principles, it cost *themselves* as dear ;  
*Barneveldt* that might be said to *build* this Republick,  
pretended to a great knowledge of these *Priviledges*  
from his Study at *Lovain* ; and the Law, or the Bold-  
ness of his Speeches and Undertakings, and upon that  
pretence, form'd the First Party for the renouncing  
their Allegiance ; and though by the Union of *Utrecht*,  
and another \* League that was made between *Holland*  
& *Zealand*, there was to be *joint* Consent & Commu-  
nication of Councils, these *privately* sware among them-  
selves, that they will never acknowledge the King of  
*Spain*, and then by a negative Suffrage of *one* Province,  
involve the *Rest* in the Revolt, and absolve one another  
of their Oaths & Fealty, & all this a \*good while *before*  
the Deputyes of *Holland* could perswade *Zealand* to  
consent to it ; so disorder'd are alwayes the Affairs of  
*Church* and *State*, upon any *Innovation* and *Defection*  
from their *antient* Establishment, that it is impossible  
to make them stand to their own Articles and Agree-  
ments.

This Faction of *Barneveldt's*, as it did profess for their  
first Formation, the *Vindicating Old Liberties*, alledg'd  
*obsolete Customs*, or pretended *unaccountable Priviledges* ;  
so did this Celebrated Legislator, and Leader, set afoot  
the *same* Pretences, even to the Subversion of the *same*  
Government they had Establish'd ; His Party rul'd in  
the *Provinces* of *Holland*, and so *Holland* must rule the  
*rest* of the *Provinces*, & enforc'd *Zealand* to admit of the  
Truce against an Express Article of *Utrecht* : When the  
Royal Authority ( by our Authors Principle of *Privi-  
ledge* and *Resisting Power* ) was wrested from the *King*,  
and plac'd in the *States Generals*, by the *same* Party, and  
Pretences, it was pull'd out of these *same* hands, & plac'd  
in

in the *People*: This same *popular* Pretext of the *same* Person, ruin'd the Authority of Prince *Maurice*, *entirely*, and was but a bad Retribution to the *Son* of him that had been so much their *Defender*: This Faction, & these Principles after *Olden-Barnvelt's* Decease, were followed and continued by the *De Witts*, (always the Greatest Enemies to our *English* Interest, as well as their *own*) and so eager by their Pensionaryes pursu'd, that they had almost introduc'd an *utter Anarchy*, & *entire* Desolation in this fam'd Republick, and never ceas'd, till by the *perpetual Edict*, they did so *basely* abolish that Office of the House of *Orange*, which as it was *Etablish'd* by the *Union*, so their First Prince *predicted* they could never stand *without*.

Leo Aitzm.  
revolut. p.  
310.

The Prince's Highness, whose Office and Authority amongst them, we wish may be ever continu'd and augmented; for his *own* Honour and the *States*; and the necessity that it shews for *some* Resemblance of *Monarchy*, even in a *Republick*, and a Common-wealth, and that too, from the *remarkable* Prediction of one of his famous Predecessors; and their First Founder as well as in the Constitution of some *†*other Common-wealths; but *this Prince* and *that State* is but little oblig'd to such a *Defender*, who forces in such Arguments for their *Defence*, as their *intestine Enemies* had almost made use of for their *utter subversion*: they that sacrificed these *popular* Pretences to their *popular* Outrages, in the sad Obsequies of those \*tumultuous Men, even to a Resentment, that might be call'd cruel and inhumane, can never have any great Obligation of kindness to *such* an Apologist, that for want of Foresight and Consideration, would only *befriend* them upon the Principles of their most dangerous *Enemies*.

† Venice, Genoa.

\* Vid. The Tragedy of the *De Witts* in the *Neerland Historian*, and *Holland Mercur*.

In the next place, supposing that *Resistance* had been as lawful from the *Constitution* of their *State*, as it was ever from the *Doctrine* of this Casuist and *Divine*; does it therefore justify a *Revolt* to be so too; is there no difference between an endeavour to *preserve* their *Privileges* in the Government, and an actual *Subversion* of the whole frame of it: *Alva's* great *Severities* were almost forgotten under the Reign of three *milder* Governours, that had almost compos'd all this distraction, when their particular detection was design'd: The *General* insurrections (as from the History has appear'd) were *before* the arrival of this severe Minister; and if *Rebellion* will forfeit *Privileges*, (as our Laws and those of all Nations do declare) I am sure 'tis no *Tyranny* to *seize* them. How some of the *States* of *Europe* did esteem this a *Justifiable Action*, our selves can best testify to our *shame*; but that *all* did, is only the *want* of it, or *excess* of *Confidence* in our *shameless* Author: Arch Duke *Matthias* left them (as appears) when he saw it was coming to that, the mild Emperor *Maximilian*, tho' he mediated for a *Peace*, yet could never justify the *War*; & those Princes of *Germany* that sent them aid from *abroad*, were only such as were in the same circumstance of disobedience at *home*: the *Rebellions* in *Scotland*, and the deposition of the *Q.* were no more *Justified* by the *States* of *Europe*, than was her murder we committed *here*; & yet we saw, & from our *Acts* of *Subsidy* too, that the *Scots* were *assisted* to *Fight* against their Sovereign. 'Tis still the constant misfortune of our Author, and now it must fall at last upon his *own* Church, to be *Libell'd* in a *friendly* argument; and sure such *Actions* of that Queen had *better* be forgotten, which we'll believe her *forc'd* to, from the *necessity* of *State*, and the condition of the *Church*, tho' to the *loss* of her *reputation*; and no little blemish to this

*Establisht*

\* *vid.* Reflect.  
ibid. Sect. 8.

*Establisht Religion*, sure she believ'd the King of *Spain* had some *Right* to his *revolted* Subjects, when she so <sup>†</sup>wisely refus'd that Dominion they so || frankly offer'd : And the King of *France* was somewhat of the same *mind*, when he so *generously* rejected that rash and \* *rebellious* Overture ; and this *French* King, when some of his *Calvinists*, and *Male-contents* were running into *Flanders* to their Assistance, pursu'd them, and thought it such a *justifiable Action*, that he cut them all to pieces.

|| Ut principatus conditiones non tam ferrent, quam acciperent Grot. An. 1. 5.  
† Sed prudens Fœmina detrectavit invidiam interversæ dominationis, Grovius Annal. lib. 5.

\* In manus tradunt federatorum nomine Belgium, Strad. Dec. 2. lib. 7. In Gallia tua est Belgium, Strad. lib. 5.

But to keep *only* to the *Queens* Case, 'tis another of his *unlucky* Touches to talk of her *assisting* them ; it looks as if our Author had a mind to rub up the Memory of their ungrateful Returns ; the Tricks that the \* *Faction* we have mention'd *before*, put upon their Deliverer, *Leicester*, the Collusions of their Councils, with the good Intentions of Her Majesty, the secret Treatys with *France*, and treacherous Aid, and the refusing to repay Her, and to come home to the Case ; it was protested by one of the fam'd Deputies of that time, and that upon his Knees, to some of his Companions, that those Submissions made to the Q. of *England*, was only to draw Her into a *War* with *Spain*, which when She was asham'd of, and would have mediated a *Peace*, \* a *Peace*, which by the very Articles She was to conduct them to, and not to a *Republick* ; and by which She was made an Arbitress of *That*, as well as of the *War* : They sent Her a solemn Embassy to dissuade Her from it ; which when it was not likely to prevail, She urging that Arbitration, to which they had agreed ; they took upon them to expound solemn Articles for Words

ibid. Reflex. parag. 7.

\* Barnvols's.

\* A. D. 1598.

Gravissimam hanc injuriam, Sc. Reidan. Annal. Belg. An. D. 1517.

R of

\* Verba tantum honori data, Grot. Lib. 5.

\* Id. Lib. 5. 1585.

\* 1586  
 Novitraciecti  
 Magistratus,  
 &c.  
 † Nec tamen  
 quorundam  
 suspiciones,  
 quasi publico  
 consensu delatum honorem & recusatum; plebis ac militum seditionibus debere mallet.  
 Id. Lib. 5.

of \* Course; and that they had made Her an Umpire only out of Complement & Respect. Posterity is taught only to remember the *Spanish Invasion*, with an Abhorrence, as if it were a *Popish Plot*; and our Author does no service to the *Protestant Religion*, to let them know, that *Spain* was *first Invaded* by the most *Protestant Queen*: \* Five Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse; and that three Year before that Formidable Armado came to face our Coast, were carryed over there, to keep that *sinking State* from a *certain* falling into their former Constitution; and returning by *force* to the Obedience of their Lawful Lord. That most impartial Author (whom we can't but call so, since their own Country-man) gives but little Countenance to this Queens good Opinion of this *Justifiable Action*; for when She was again \* offer'd the Dominion of these *Dutch* by some of their Magistrates, and the people of *Frisia*; he observes, that it † was much suspected, That if they had tender'd her the Government, as got into their hands by the Mutiny of the Common People, and the Sedition of the Souldiers, She might sooner have accepted of it; which, when offer'd, as from the publick Consent, She cunningly refus'd: She knew that *Mutiny* had made them what they were, and that the *same* was the surest way to make them Hers; whereas, an Act of *State* from those that had made themselves so, was of no more Authority than the *Revolt*, by which they were made; and that at any time would give to her self as Just a Title: So true it is, that a *Defection* from *Princes*, unhinges all Right of *Soveraignty*, and *Property* it self, warrants *Sedition* from the *Constitution* of the *State*, and lyes a *Land* open, like those of our Lawyers, to be *Primi Occupantis*.

But because this Author does give us a Touch of his more.

more *modern Politicks*, as well as of his excellency in *antient History*; (which if we'll believe some of his late Works, none ever can equal) we'll for once venture to examin *that* too; he lets us know, *That as to the Rebellion, the Prince that is only concern'd in that, has found them of late to be his best Allyes, and chief Supports*: I do not know what they are under this *present Peace*, but they have not been long so, when *Flanders* was invaded with a *War*; and *succour*, and *supports* are better seen upon *necessity*, than when they are *needless*, this *chief support* of the Crown of *Spain*, and that improvident *Abandoning* of *Luxemburg*, the strongest Fortres in all *Flanders*, have sure no Chain of Thought, though they come so close together, and as *little* as it is to be *excus'd* (I am afraid) will want *much* of *Excuse*; a little of this *chief support*, with the *Courage* of the *then* Governour *Chimay*, and the *Strength* of the Place, (if my Judgment, or Eyes han't deceiv'd me) might have kept it out of the hands of the *French*, who find it now so convenient for their Affairs thereabouts, and their Conquest in *Lorrain*, that by the fine *artificial* Fortifications they are now making, though *Nature* gives it more than enough, they've already made it look, as if they would never *let it go*: And for their being his *best of Allyes* (if my little *Politicks* do not fail me, or that of wiser Heads) 'tis not long since they were like to lose the *best* Part of their Country, for want of an *Allyance* with him: Had they been but so wise (or if you will) we'll call it so fortunate, as to close with *Spain*, before the *French* fell into *Flanders*; or when he threatned them with a *War*, as their *chief support* in their *Rise* was once from the *French* and *English*, against the Power of *Spain*, so that *Spain*, and *England*, would have been their best Defence against their *Fall*, by the

16, Sect. 7.

Power of *France*: A *defensive Alliance*, with those, to whom they are now such *good Allies*, was then desired by *Spain* it self, by *all* those that coveted a *Peace* in *Christendom*; by *some* of their *own* Ministers of State, by *all* of them, when they saw it was too late; this was look'd upon as the *falsest* Step they ever made, since their *Revolt*, and *Formation*, that was the *foulest*; and this was thought then by a most ingenious Politician, to proceed only from their *old Hatred* against that Government, from which they *revolted*, which, as it had *begun* them, so it had almost made an *end* of them too; and therefore, in the Second War, they were wiser, and suffered their *Interest* to prevail against that *antient Resentment* they had to *Spain*; then indeed, they first became these *good Allies* to that Crown, and found the benefit of it too; for it forc'd for them a *Peace*, which (perhaps) without the Mediation of the Marquis de *Fresno*, had never been got so easily from *England*, and *France*: The *Peace* of *Nimmeguen*, as well as the Loss of *Luxemburg*, for which, in a *friendly* Rebuke, our Author will *reproach* them, should never have been repeated by us, or reviv'd to *upbraid* them; but since, he'll so unreasonably fasten the Original Guilt upon his *own* Country, it must merit a little modest Reflection: Since our Author will call this *Peace* of *Nimmeguen*, one of the *single Instances* in their *History*, that *needs* a little *Excuse*: Some People think that the *Munster Peace* will go near to overmatch it, and want as *much*: whatever was our *English Conduct*, it was not the *Conduct* of the *French* that drove them *there* to act *separately* for themselves, when by a *League* of *Guaranty* they were oblig'd to conclude no Treaty, but in *Conjunction* with *France*, whom they excluded after several *summs* extorted; and singly by their *Plenipoten-*

nipotentaries conclude first a *truce*, and then a firm *peace* with *Spain*; and that against the consent and remonstrance of several of their own Provinces; to which *Zealand* never at last consented; and one of the Plenipotentiaries himself would never sign, and was (as we observ'd) justify'd in it by his Superiors of *Utrecht* that sent him.

In the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. several Leagues were made by these the *best Allies*, with the Crown of *France*, against that of *Spain*, whereby he was to invade *Flanders* with a mighty Force; *Peace* never to be made, but by mutual consent, and the *War* never to cease till the *Spaniards* were driven out of *all* the *Netherlands*, which like their *Lions skin*, they had divided among themselves beforehand; but nevertheless, the Treaty of *Craneberg*, was like to have eluded the *French*, had not the haughty *Spaniard* stood upon such Arrogant demands; this was as bad almost, as that of *Munster* which follow'd; & like that of \* *Nimmeguen*, needs to be a little excus'd; and our Author cannot with any good grace paum these *ill steps* too upon our *English Conduct*.

I come now to the last touch of his Historical Reflection (for other People may be allowed to understand a little History as well as Dr. B.) and that is; for the Credit of our Nation to clear a little further this *Heroical Attempt* upon the *Smyrna Fleet*, with which he does again attack us; I've taken pains to consult not only Authors in this matter, but some that were eminently concern'd in the Action; it appears even from their own \* Historian, that Sir. G. Downing our Ambassador had his Audience of Leave, after he had declared he could have no answer to his demand of the Flag, after he had protested it was his positive order to insist upon it, and and all this and he return'd, was three Weeks † before this \* Hostility was acted; & before this attempt made,

Meerman

Vid. Leo ab  
Aitzma's Re-  
volutions.

1635.

\* It seems secret, and separate Alliances, with some people, was ever an expedient in *Re-serve* to betray *France* to *Spain*, or *Spain* to *France*.

\* The Netherlands.

† Feb. 4. Ditto

\* 22.

*Meerman* their Envoy was arriv'd here to make up this breach which they fear'd, knowing in what Violations of Articles they had offended, and by their own Confession, a *War* was in some sense declar'd to him at his coming, or at least, that he could not long expect *peace*; which I've shew'd before, upon refusing to satisfy for Articles violated, from the Laws of Nations, needs no such *Solemn Declaration*. It is but consulting his Majesty's Declaration, that for further satisfaction, was immediately publisht; tho' for the Fact there needed no justification; where it will appear, that immediately too after their former Peace, they fell to violating those very Articles that had confirm'd and establisht it. By the Treaty of *Breda* Commissioners were to be sent to *London*, for the regulation of our Trade in the *East-Indies*, which was never done, tho' by our Ambassador purposely sent, it was so condescendingly sollicit'd; and so our Subjects suffer'd there without redress: The *West-Indies* was a business only of greater abuse, denying the King the return of his Subjects, at their leisure from *Surinam*, tho' expressly provided for by the same Treaty, and made *Banister* a Prisoner only for desiring to remove according to the Articles of it: Some would apply this to the present juncture, and the denial, and punishing of some Souldiers for offering to return, after his Majesty's Proclamation for it, and some Stipulations and Conventions of their own for the permitting it; which because it Symbolises so much with our Author's case of *transferring Allegiance*, and themselves have made use of that as an Argument for their Detention, we shall *transfer* it too to another place, when we come to consider his particular defence.

The Right of the Flag, it is not our present business to justifie, tho' we have matter enough by us to make out

*Vid.* His Majesty's Declarat.  
Dat. 17. Mart.  
1672.  
A. D. 1667.

My Lord of  
Sury's Capitulation, 1678.

out the Argument ; it is sufficient that it was one of the Articles in the Treaty ; the violation of which, the King insisted on in this Declaration, that it had been broken by their Commander, justify'd at the *Hague*, and ridicul'd by them in foreign Courts ; and I may add too, maintain'd by this *Smyrna* Fleet, so that here was *three* Solemn Articles, very seriously broken, and no satisfaction offer'd after several Demands, whereas *one* of them violated, and reparation deny'd, had been sufficient to have justify'd by the Law of Arms, by the Authority of their own Lawyer, any Hostile Attempt, without a Publick Denunciation ; so that here besides, a private Intelligence was given to *Meerman*, and over and above, the Fleet could be attackt for not *striking* ; and all these Provocations, and absolute Rupture, præcedaneous to this *Heroical attempt* that our Author does reproach us with ; but that neither he, nor any *Dutchman* may doubt of our Authority, I'll engage I'll get the States *themselves* to acknowledge every Tittle of it to be true, from their *own Memorials*, the *mouths* of their *own* Embassadors, from their *own Mediators* ; and this I press not to *reproach* them, but to vindicate the Honour of our Nation in this single instance against a Defetter, and that from matter of *Fact*, without any *eloquence* or affectation.

When in the last *Dutch War*, the Treaty of *Cologne* was on foot, (which was another too, that his late Majesty complain'd of) where *separate* Alliances were set forward again as in former with the *Fr.* they sent us by a Trumpeter, some Overtures for \* Peace, in which Missive, 'tis mention'd, they had willingly agreed to all what the K.

19 Art. *Ereda.*

*Van Ghent.*

*Hug. Grot. de jure Bell. &c.*

\* *Hague* 15. 25  
October 1673.  
*Vid.* King's  
Speech to the

Parliament, 6. *Novemb.* *Ditto*, as also his Answer to the Missive. 17. *Novemb.* — 73.

had.

had before askt about his Subjects in *Surinam*; and the business of the *Flag*, they were willing to submit to judgment of the World, and that whereas the King had complain'd, that their Answer was insufficient, they had Commission'd an Ambassador to add any thing that was needful; this was enough of confession in the beginning of the *War*, that they had broke those two Articles of *Peace*; tho' by the way *this extraordinary* Ambassador, if I mistake not, had Credentials of an *extraordinary* Nature, which were; that he was come, *to do nothing*. To this Missive, tho' it was not so *full*, yet sufficient to evidence *fully* the violation of the Treaty at *Breda*, did the late \* King send in return a *smart* Answer; to which they † reply'd in such a submissive manner, as I hope will justify that they were in the Fault, before this *attempt* upon the *Fleet*; that they were ready *fully* to renew the Treaty of \* *Breda*; and to give a clearer Exposition of the Article of the *Flag*; they solemnly promise to repair all wrongs and injuries offer'd since that Treaty to the beginning of the *War*; this was what our Ambassador could never obtain, before it was began by this our Authors *Heroical Attempt*.

But to prosecute this a little farther, for the information of our Reflector, and satisfaction of the World, in the Proceedings of the Peace at \* *Cologn*, they came up so far, to confess the justness of the King of *England's* Cause, that they strongly endeavour'd to give us satisfaction, and promote an Union, above all the rest; that it should be referr'd to our *own* project of the seventeenth of *November*, upon which the King stood, I am sure like a King, to a Common-Wealth, on as high terms, and spoke to them in as big words, insisting upon *all* that before had been urg'd without the *least* Abate-

\* *Vid.* King's Declaration  
17. *Mart.* 72.  
† *Dutch* Answ.  
*dar.* *Hag.* 9.  
19.—73.  
\* 1667. 19<sup>th</sup>.  
*Art.*

\* *Vid.* Answer  
to the Missive  
as above.

Abatement; and besides their offers in answer to this, as is before related, the *Spanish* Ambassador, on behalf of the *States Generals*, had made these \* Overtures: That this point of the Flag (which was one of the points that occasion'd this Heroical Attempt) should be order'd and adjust'd to the full content of his Majesty: And that also, 800000 Pattacons, or 20 Tuns of Gold, that is, 200000 *l.* Sterling *English*, should be given him; this reparation I suppose, had it been sooner made, might have hinder'd this *Heroical Attempt*; they refer themselves now wholly to the *English* Nation, to the Judgment of the Parliament; making them the full Arbitrators in their own Cause; that cause which our Author, and Subject, has now so scandalously in his Reflections given up, (and what he was ever good at) *betray'd*.

Once more to justify it a little further, these tempting offers of the *Spanish* Embassadors Summs, (and sure there must be much Honour in the Cause, where the Court refuses so much Money) and threatnings that he us'd of a Rupture with *Spain*, were refus'd, and slighted, because the business of *Surinam*, the regulation of Trade in the *East Indies* were not included; the Violation of which Articles, were both insisted on for Reparation, before this *Heroical Attempt* was offer'd at. And so the King proceeds to prosecute the War, which occasion'd presently the Marquis de \* *Fresno*, Embassador of *Spain*, to present another Missive, wherein was Consented to,

That the striking the Flagg to the least *English* Man of War, which was once in wantonness, by some Authors, call'd the KING's † *Pleasure-Boat*; was just, that the Ceremony should be regulated, even according to the Project, which His Majesty's Plenipo-

S

tentiaries

\* *Vid.* Their own *Neiberland*, Hist. pag. 355. 256.

\* Missive of Marq. de Fresno, *Hague*, 24. Jan. 1674.

† *Vid.* Considerat. growth of Popery, *Englands Appeal*. Tho' they have done it to a Barge, and both that and Ballingers are Ships of War, if Arm'd, and Equipp'd.

tentiaries themselves had sent from the *French Army*, in such a time, as their Common wealth was brought into the greatest Encumbrance.

\* To which we will not now compare the Business of *Baniam*.

*That* Commissioners should be sent to treat of Regulating the Trade \* in the *East Indies*, according to the same Project, and their Propositions at *Cologne*.

*That* as to *Surinam* they are ready to suffer any of his Subjects to transport themselves, and return when they please.

|| Propositions for Peace, ditto.

*That* by these || Articles it was agreed and confess'd, that *their whole* Fleets of Ships of War, or Merchants, were oblig'd to strike to any single Man of War of *ours*, which was the Case of this Fleet that is contested, and which was deny'd us before in the Case of *Van Ghent*, to a single Ship.

*That* their Commissioners for the *East Indie* Trade, were to meet at *London*, which before could never be obtain'd; though it was by an unnecessary Condescension, and sending of our Embassadors desired.

Fifth Art. of *Krynfen*, 6. March, 1667.

*That* for the Affairs of *Surinam*, they confess'd in their Third Proposition, that it was founded upon *Krynfen's* Fifth Article; *That* our Inhabitants should have Liberty to sell their Estates, to return, *That* the Governor should take Care their Transportation was provided for at a moderate Price; and *that* by another Article, *Krynfen* was to give them Passports, and permit their Slaves to follow them.

19. Artic.

*All* this was now consented to, *all* that was desired before this *Heroical Attempt*, which Articles, this their Obstinacy in defending the business of *Van Ghent*, and *Baniſter*; and not sending their Commissioners to *London*, do from *Confession* appear to have been violated: Upon these, and more advantageous Expressive Terms, was Concluded the *Famous Peace* of *Seventy Four*; where

where in the *Breach* of Articles is so plainly *confess'd* by themselves, before our *Attempt* on the *Fleet*, and the denouncing of War from the Laws of *Nations*; and their *own* native Lawyer is shewn unnecessary after such *Violation*: I do nothing to *reproach* the *Dutch*, but to *defend* our *English* from the Pen of a Deserter; and 'tis somewhat *considerable*, that in all their *Missives* to His Majesty, themselves never insisted on this *Heroical Attempt*; tho' I confess it was reflected on in a Pamphlet, and an unlicens'd one of theirs, call'd *Considerations*; and by such Treacherous Authors of *ours*, that were then disgust'd at the Court; severely Libell'd, and expos'd. And yet even *those* invidious Pens, that reproach'd us with their *Guaranty* of *Aix*, our Triple League, our Confederacy with the *French*, and suffering (as they would suggest) our Agent to the *Switzers* *Marssilly* to be sacrificed to their Fury; Even *those* Deserters that seem'd to have sold themselves like *ours* to the *Dutch*, did not offer to *defend* (tho' so willing to excuse) their *Fleets* refusal of the Flag, which expos'd them to an *Attack*, and occasion'd the *Heroical Attempt*, and are forc'd to confess, and condemn the Pensioner *de Wit*, for influencing his Masters, to *demurr* so long upon that satisfaction we had so much reason to demand.

*Vid.* our Articles, Dated *Westminster*.  
19 Feb. 1671.

Growth of  
Popery, En-  
glands Appeal.

## S E C T. X I I.

AND now we must change this expatiated *Scene* of History, wherein our Celebrated Author thought himself the only *Actor* and *Comædian*; for his Historical Reflexions upon our impartial Observations, are indeed no more than the making of History, a *Romance*;

and his Readers to laugh like the Spectators in a *Play*, with a Touch and a Witticism: Mr. *Varillas* with all his *Florimond*, will never afford the World so much of Diversion; for if Matters of Fact, must *stand* and *fall* with every passionate Touch and Representation; 'tis better going to a *Play*, than consulting such an Author, who with a *dash* of his Pen can give you a *dismal* Character; and of a *merciful* Monarch, with the turn of his Words, make a *Tyrant* and *Oppressor*: That makes the Catholick Religion to traduce all Princes, though their Princes Actions appear (perhaps) the greatest Credit to the Catholick Religion: This is no more consistent with the gravity of an Historian, than it is with his honesty, and (perhaps) Mr. *Varil.* and Mr. *Dry.* both, may modestly yield him the Bays: 'Tis an easy Defamation that depends upon a Paragraph, or is confin'd (perhaps) to a malicious period: To prevent that disingenuous Proceeding, we have return'd almost an *History* instead of a *Reflection*, and that drawn from the most *impartial* Authors; or an Extract from such Writers of the two opposite Perswasions, that an indifferent Person might suppose to be *partial*.

*Vid.* His Reflections on Mr. *Var.* History of Heresy.

*Vid.* Parag. 8. *This Strein of Pert Boldness, that (he says) runs through the whole Paper,* must be pardon'd us, since it publishes so much of the Reflecters *Impudence*, and that against Persons of a *Royal Character*; not a *Paper* of His Majesty's from those of the *Late King's*, to the last Declaration of *Assurance*; but what by him, with a *Perter Boldness* has been libell'd, and even that (doubtless) does at present ly under his severe Examination; and can any Common *Confidence* upbraid us for being too *bold* with such an Author? But for its appearing more eminently on Mr. \* *Fagel's* Letter, with submission.

\* *Ibid.*

submission to his *gravity*; persons of a greater Character than himself, or the Pensioner, are not of that opinion; it is more modestly handled than any Paragraph that has pass'd his Pen, and the Author was solicitous, that it should be so, as surreptitious as it was here, for the sake of the sacred Title that it carry'd.

For an impropriety of Term, this Reflector makes us Accost a Princess with the name of \* *Reverend*, as \* *vil. 1b.* if we had been talking to one of his *Coat*; but if he consults, as he seldom does, what he reflects on, he'll find it in the Originals, for which he would be so fam'd: *Reverd*, a more *awful* expression of *dread*, and deference to Royal Authority, than I hope his *Cassock* can pretend to, a Name that we shall truly *Revere*, for the peculiar goodness of that excellent person, as well as the greatness of the Character that makes it so illustrious: And may she ever have as much the hearts of a *people*, as is consistent with the Allegiance to a *Sovereign*; the respect to a *Successor*, and the *double* duty of *Daughter* and *Subject* to receive.

For our defence against Mr. *Fagel*, as our Author threatned us with a *method* that was taken to *clear off Imputations*, so we shall take as *sure measures* to justify our self, not only to our *English*, but the *World*; we may send them a *Latin Missive*, since our *English* is so *ill writ*, and with the like translation into some other Languages, and their own too, to which we may not be altogether a stranger: As I hope I have clear'd our Authors Heroical Attempt, by that precedaneous \* *Clarigatum* of our Embassadors; so since I have to do with such an Enemy as Dr. B. I shall also in a sort of *Civil* Clarigation, and the *Romans* return of *Talionis*, justify my self, and desire of Mr. F. to accept the *clearing* of my innocency for a satisfaction: 'Tis sufficient to say at present,

\* *vid. Car. 1.*  
Car. 2.  
Jacob. 2.

Car. 1. Car. 2.  
Jac. 2.

sent, that I am a *Subject* to the King of *Great-Brittain*, never *transfer'd* my *Allegiance*, never *naturaliz'd*, or had *need* of it; that by *that*, if it was not my bounden *Duty*, to reflect, or *Animadvert* on any dangerous practices, industriously spread to the disturbance of the State; yet at least, I may be allow'd the *Liberty* to do it; that we have *three* several Acts of Parliament, or *one*, *twice* reviv'd, that make any *Paper* or *Print*, without a *private*, or *publick Imprimatur*, a *Libel*; the *dispersers* of it *punishable* by *Law*, (tho' *their* Presses too may have a *Liberty* there) for *Printing*, and *dispersing* a defence of this very Paper, were some persons *examind*, (and as they justly might be) *prosecuted*: Mr. *Fagel*, is better acquainted with their *own* Constitutions, than our *Tests*, or any other *Laws*; yet his \* *Civil* Institutions will tell him 'tis somewhat absur'd for a Man to be an Offender for speaking his thoughts of a thing, which as *publish'd* here, was \* *Criminal*; and therefore he might have spar'd his application, that the Author should be *punish'd*, as he \* *deserves*: And why? Because our Law says, he *does not deserve it*; but only those \* that *publish* the Paper: Whatever application had been made Mr. *Fagel* for finding out opinions; what ever Authority that *Statesman* had to Communicate Princes Thoughts; he had surely no orders for the *Printing* and *Publishing* it in our *State*, only to make the more *disturbance*, to *disperse* it through the *City*, only that there might be *complaining* in our *streets*; was it not free then for every one to tell of it his Sense and Opinion, or will those that allow *all things Liberty* in *Holland*, *confine* an *English* man's *Thought*? Or, did he think it as requisite, that every Reader of the Letter (*surreptitiously* printed) was to consult the Secretary's Office, whither Mr. *Fagel* had feign'd it?

This

\* Qui dolo  
malo crimen  
intendit reus  
est.

\* Seditionis  
reus est cujus  
opera dolo-  
ve malo con-  
siliu in initum  
est ut homines  
ad seditionem  
commoven-  
tur.

D. 48. 44.

\* Vid. his  
Missive.

This *Honorable* Gentleman from his *high* Station that he has in the State, and his celebrated Abilities in managing the Affairs of it, could not imagine, that it was the Duty of every Subject to the King of *Great Britain*, to examine at his Peril; whither a Paper printed and Publish'd without any License, were exactly the same with a Letter that was sent from the Pensioner of *Holland*, our Animadversions were on a piece, that by its Publication, was an offence to the Publick; and by being Surreptitious, a Transgression of the \* *Laws*; and so cannot by any prudent *Statesman* be improv'd into a Negotiation of *State*; and our Ministers no more accountable to Mr. *Fagel*, for our Animadversions, than Mr. *Fagel* to our Ministers, for his Publication: Whatever was the *knowledge*, and *thoughts* of other People, this *unauthoriz'd Publication* empower'd me to tell *mine* as far as I *knew*, and that with *Authority*; so that Mr. *Fagel* must be angry with those, and *punish* them as they do *deserve*, that thus *publish* his Paper; and not with those, who without a *Liberty of Conscience*, might be *freely* allow'd to tell their *thought*, and I'll engage to prove Mr. *Fagel* himself was of that Opinion when he made his \* *Missive* to our Envoy, or else his Hand and his Heart do not go together, for he tells us there, *That he finds himself very little concern'd in what is said in this Book, that he foresaw well enough from the beginning, that he should be attackt upon the account of his Letter, in which it was indifferent to him, what any Man thought of it*: But it seems, these words have somewhat in them of the *Reserve*, for the Close of the Letter explains it thus; that the Author deserves to be *punish'd* for an *Atrocious Calumny*, was Mr. *Fagel* *indifferent* what any man *thought* of it, and is the man to be *punish'd* now for telling his *thoughts*?

Or

\* Car. 1. Car. 2.  
Jacob. 2.

\* *Vid.* *Missive*  
against the  
Parliament.  
Pacificum to  
Mr. D. Albeville.

Or does he mean, a Man might have told his *thoughts* with *Impunity*? if he had not been *authoriz'd*; but *deserves* to be *punisht* now, because he tells them with *authority*? or would he have the *Missive* of the *Pensioner* of *Holland* be of more Force against the *Parliamentum Pacificum*, and their *Foreigner*; than a *Memorial* of His Majesty of *Great Britain* against his *own* Subject, and the Author of so many *Libels* and *Reflections*: The celebrated Prudence of this great Minister, will not suffer me to suspect a person of such a Character (as the defensive\* Reflection on this Letter gives him) of so much *inconsistency* even in sense, reason, and the Rules of Government, but I must submit it to the consideration of others, since it seems, at first sight, not so *agreeable* with *himself*, with their Civil, or *our English* Law; and he will not find from their\* *Dutch*, that any thing that is in Print with a *Lawful Authority*, can be call'd a Libel, a Defamation, or in their Language, a *Lastering*; much less, the Author to be punished as a *Lasterer*; neither is the *Imperial* Law so little concern'd for the honour of its *Legislators*; neither can it be imagin'd so absurd, as to make those || *Criminals* to the *State*, that act with its *Authority*, and are only zealously concern'd in its\* *defence* and *Justification*.

\* *Vid.* Reflect.  
on Mr. F.  
Letter.

\* *Vid.* Inley-  
dinge tot de  
Hollantsche  
Rechtgeleer-  
theyt beschre-  
ven by *Hug. de*  
*Groot*.

|| Jus. five  
Obligatio *cri-*  
*minis* est, ex  
quo quis ob  
delictum in

*Rempubicam*, supplicio est obnoxius. Zouchæi Element. Jurisprud. pars 4: de Jure Crimi-  
nis. Edit. Amsterdam. \* Convitium excusatur quod aliquis vindicande Republice gratia  
objecit. Julii Pacii Anal. Inst. L. 4. Tit. 4.

In short, Mr. *Fagel's* Letter, and Mr. *Fagel's* *Autho-  
rity*, are both alike unknown to me; and so is that *Autho-  
rity* by which the Paper was Publish'd here (I hope) to himself; but it may be observ'd here, and that with-  
out *Telescopes*, that *these* two *Planets* (suppose of *Mars*  
and *Saturn*) that have, with such an *ill aspect* lookt  
upon;

upon; a Treatise that seems only a *Plea for Peace*, were very near in *Conjunction*; the *Reflexions*, and the *Misfires* were clearly the Result of their Authors good Correspondence; they look like Vouching for one another's *Children* at the Font, for the Minerva of the Brain we know is the mother of Productions too; but the best of it is, the malice of both must miscarry, and this Author would then only be † *punishable* as he *deserv'd*, had he been found \* *divulging* and dispersing such a dangerous Paper, to make a Division amongst His Majesty's Subjects: Neither can this Terrible Reproach of being an *Atrocious Calumniator*; that is, by the *Lex* \* *Remnia* of the *Romans*, to be *burnt* in the Forehead for a Rogue, frighten me from my Duty; or affect me in † *Law*, I cannot find that Civilians call any *Calumnies* or Injuries \* *Atrocious*; but from the Circumstances of the person or place, where your *own* Magistrate is affronted in *himself* or his *office*, and I having not yet *translated* my *Allegiance*, (and as I hope, never shall) cannot be said to offend Mr. *Fagel* so *Atrociously*, unless I should become their Subject too, assault him in their *Senate-House* or affront him as a *Pensioner*.

And yet after all this *unaccountable* resentment of this mighty Minister, his Remonstrance against this Book; looks in *truth* as if he had never read it; and 'tis very probable the person that is so concern'd in it, might make ~~it~~ his business to give him a false account; for so far was the Author from accusing the Pensioner of *Holland* † for *forging* their Highnesses *Names*, that in more places than one, he reflects upon it, as if himself had been abus'd; and his *own* was *forg'd*; he calls it a \* *paper* that must pass for the Pensioners, and says that the † *Presses* of *London* did more probably produce, what perhaps was expedient to paum upon the *Hague*;

† *Pax tene-  
tur qui Libel-  
lum inventum  
Divulgavit.*

\* L. un C. d.  
Tit.

\* D. 48. 16. 1.

† *Injuria dici-  
tur quod non  
fure fit Inst.*

L. 4. Tit. 4.  
de Injur.

\* *Atrox inju-  
ria est vel ex  
loco vel ex  
persona, veluti  
in foro vel in  
Senatore,*

Ibid L. 4. Tit.  
4. & con-  
vitiū excusa-  
tur, &c. ut su-  
pra.

† *vid his Mis-  
sive and Let-  
ter.*

\* *Parliam.  
Pac. pag. 65.  
† ibi l. pag. 74.*

and if *Holland* had the honour to bring it to light, this Pensioner of the *States* might be more likely the Dr. of *Amsterdam*. And these Remarks were made, to the best of our knowledge, and which I can assert upon the Faith of a Christian, so far was it from the Artifices of one (as our Author says) \* that *knew* they had order'd the Letter, that he had some reason to believe, besides the confidence of this Author, that ~~he~~ himself had forg'd it; so that this Missive of *Mijn Heer* the Pensioner, would have come better from our *Monsieur* the Doctor, tho' it would, indeed, have been but with an *ill Grace* for him to have desir'd our being *punisht*, who so little *deserved* it, that perhaps hath much *merited*, as well as *expos'd* himself to the highest *punishment* that any \* *Laws* can inflict.

\* *Vid.* our Stat. 25. of Edw. & 1. 3. 4. 10. King 3.

6. of *Scotland*. *Vid.* Leg. juliam. I. 4. 18. 3.

*Ibid.* Sect. 8.

The Reflector's malice is in nothing more remarkable, than in endeavouring to pervert in the end of his Discourse, that tender regard this Author had to the goodness and excellency of that Noble Princess, into Arguments of ingratitude, and disrespect; but it is the Nature of *Venom* to assimilate, and such *Vipers* can attract a Virulency even from the most innocent Air; if we may be allow'd the liberty of Scriptural expression, and the Profession of our Author does not engross that Sacred Phraseology, as he desires to be free from the \* *strife of Tongues*, so I wish we were too, from that of *deceitful* one; and where the *Poyson of Asps* is under his Lips, nothing I fancy less *infective*, could taint such sincere Expressions of Honour and Esteem (as are apparent in that very part of the Paper) for that excellent Princess; nothing but the greatest *bitterness* could

turn

\* Reflect. 2 part. pag. 8.

turn them into *Gall*: And that makes him quarrel at that very term of the \* *sweetness of her temper*, as if it were a touch that stir'd up his envy to the Author of it ; but when this Reflector among his Voluminous Tracts, truly Polemical ; can show so much of sincerity and Zeal in the defence of the *Succession* and the *Crown*, as perhaps the Person can produce that he so much, and so invidiously reflects on ; Il'e forfeit my Reputation of a Loyal Man, and what will be a greater Paradox, put in him for a good Subject.

\*Parliam.  
Pacificum  
pag. 64.

It is like the rest of his unfortunate Reflections, and unlucky Touches, when he would introduce us, as betraying the Lineal descent of the Crown ; which with the hazard of our little fortune, and a forwardness (as some would have had it) even to a fault, we argued for, and defended ; but it is of late, the Peculiar affectation of some people to press in this point, the mighty performances of their Pulpits, even to the Lay-man's civil *Excommunication*, as if *Learning* and *Loyalty* were only to be confin'd to the *Cassock*, and no where to be found, but with those that officiated in the Church. I am confident, Dr. B's *Passive Obedience* did not much contribute to the *Succession*, tho' he would represent me now as invading it : I don't know what his *Resistance* might do to my Lord R ————*Ps* Ruine: I am afraid, that *dark* misterious expression, with which our Author labours so much, may easily, and without Spectacles be brought to *light*. The words which he so injuriously Reflects on, tho' he does not wrong me in the Repetition, are truly these, discoursing of her Highnesses *Relation to the State* ; it follows, \* *to which she still seems so nearly related*, the Doctor will be still unlucky in his Animadversions, or else he had more wisely let it alone ; he finds me in the same part of

\*Vid. Parliam.  
Pacificum,  
pag. 64, 74.

the Papers Apologizing for the late Prayers of the Church, for her Majesties happy Deliverance; and reflecting on the indiscreet Zeal of *some*, who (to my knowledge) for that reason refrained the Church; and on *others*, that in the lewdest Sonnets, had profan'd the Service, hoping that such Prayers could never displease so generous a Princess, since they were only offer'd for perpetuating that Royal Line, of which there were but few in remainder; and I hope I might add, in which she *still seems* the next Successor? So far was I from detracting from her Right, that I made her there even an *Apparent Heir*, tho' there was then more prospect of Issue that might intercept her Title, than when my late Lord *Shaftsbury* deny'd it to his Majesty; I know *Apparent* is put for an *Absolute Heir*, where no other can Intervene, but 'tis but at best a *Catachræsis*, and abuse, as commonly as it is us'd; and her Royal Highness to me should be *still Apparent*; did I not see another Heir *appear*, that by the Laws of our Land can intercept her Title: Was this Author assur'd of what Issue we might expect from her Sacred Majesty? Or, had he a design of supplanting a Prince of *Wales*, whom Providence has since provided us? but it seems he had made his *Reflections* upon this *seems still* before he came to see his error; and then like such *Reflecters*, was loath to retract it; or else, what is as probable, made his Remarks here like the rest, by picking out Sentences without considering Coherence, or Relation: But may *Heaven* dispose of Crowns and Scepters, as it shall seem best to the King of *Heaven*; blest the Fruit of the Royal Womb, and preserve her Highness (if it be her fate) for a *throne*, for a Blessing to three Kingdoms: But it must move a little pardonable passion, to see an approv'd Loyalty and Zeal to *Succession* so much abus'd, and so *unjustly*, by one

one whom from his own \* works we have plainly proved to have Libell'd the *whole Line*. \* Vid. Parliam. Pacif. p. 44.

But I must pardon the disingenuity of a person in perverting *my words*, that presumes with a greater confidence to tell me *my* \* *Thoughts, that they are the Artifices of one that knew that she order'd the Letter*; when I can solemnly profess, 'tis more than I yet know: \* Vid. Reflect. Paraga 8.

For the late King's being so deserted, when the dependence was on the *Successor*, it seems only forc'd in for somewhat of a *Reply*; I am sure it was in a most scandalous manner that his *Succession* was struck at, his Friends banish't the Court, and I can't imagine how he came then to be so well accompany'd, himself sent into two several Exiles, with but few Attendants, besides his faithful Consort; who from a Partner in affliction may well share in a Crown. Vid. Reflect. Ibid.

His Reflection on my making her Highness so *nearly ally'd* to the Prince, instead of *Marry'd*, is so ridiculous, that it is too much of an Answer to repeat it: I have often seen the Service, and said my Prayers with the *Dutch*, as well as the Doctor; and if the *Princes* way of Worship in *Holland* be the same with the *National* here, then most of our *Dissenters* are of the Church of England.

In the last place, after this Author has been so much in the *wrong*, he very Magisterially tells us of *Informing* the Publick *aright*; but that His Majesty's *last Gracious Declaration* has better done, and superseded even the Delusions of the *deepest* and *darkest* Contrivance, the Doctor's *Malice* and *Deceit*; I could almost have said of *Jealousie* and *Fear* it *self*: His Majesty's condescending *expedient*, that *Roman Catholics shall still remain incapable to be Members of the House of Commons*, silences even *suspicion* and *thought*, and what I ever imagin'd. Vid. Sect. 9. Vid. The K's last Declarat. about the Elections.

\* *Vid. Ibid.*  
Dr. B. Reflect.  
Sect. 9.

gin'd would some time appear, to some Peoples *shame* and *Confusion*: I dont know what my \* *understanding* might have done, but my *faith* in the King, has not *mislead me*; His Majesty hath taken off *all doubt* instead of *all Tests*, and I hope, is now as happy in the Love of all his Subjects, as they in his protection must be most secure: The *Church Establish'd*, is too great a pattern of Obedience, to resist so much goodness; and will be so far from being discountenanc'd by its Prince, that I hope to see her surpris'd at her own distrust and apprehensions: whatever has been the forward Zeal of *some*, and the foolish fears of *others*, His Majesty's Gracious interposition (and who alone could be the Mediator) like *David's Harp*, has calm'd, I hope, even *mens minds* too; united the *divided Tribes* of our *Israel* and *Judah*, will truly *do well unto Sion*, and *build the Walls of our Jerusalem*, and may *Peace be within them*, and *Plenty within his Palaces*: It must now be our own inexcusable fault; if we *fear* where no *fear* is, if the *Parliament* be now no *Healing one*, the wounds of the Nation will be ever *open*, they must *bleed afresh* upon those that refuse to *close* them, and with as much resentment, as those of the *Dead* on their *Destroyers*.

The only *Plausible* Argument, that after so many *popular* ones has been offer'd, could never amount to more than this, that it is but *prudence* to provide against, and oppose a *possibility* of danger and destruction; and then it must be an unaccountable madness to resist this *Peace*, when our *Ruine* is made *impossible*: This *trusting* can never *ruine* us, when *distrust* may, or rather, it puts us above the *Chance*, and only to such a *Trust* that is the same with an *Insurance*. 'Tis such an *Equivalent*, that we must not be laugh'd out, no more than some would

*Vid. The Anatomy of the Equivalent.*  
Pag. 16.

would be out of the *Tests*; and it is but an exchange of one Act of Parliament, the most *unjust*, for another that is altogether as much *safe*. The Birth-right of the Peers of *England* is no such an *inconsiderable* Subject, as not to be worth the *Consideration* of the House. It was never so much strook at as in these *Acts*, and perhaps, for that reason, above twenty Bishops once oppos'd the passing them: Had the *Reformation* introduc'd this *Exclusion* of the Peers from their highest *Property*; it would have been an hardship they could have better born, but this was a *violation* of *Right*, too great to be *invaded*, even when the *Patrimony* of the Church, in spite of *Magna Charta*, was not lookt upon *inviolable*, when *Sacrilege* obtain'd, their *Honours* were safe, and that, tho' there was a more certain prospect of a *Popish Successor*, of the *rage* of a *Woman*, instead of an *Heroick Prince*, whom they had reason to suspect, as they say they soon found, most † *cruel* and *Zealous*.

In *Edw. 6.*  
Reign.

\* *Vid. Dr. B.*

Let it not be said to the *true Reproach* of *Justice*, and the *Laws*, the *Honour* of the *Nation*, and the *Great Council* of it, that it can act against the common Rules of *Equity*; *Excluded Members*, were an *Opprobrium* and *Shame* even to a most *odious Usurpation*; neither did that offer to *exclude Lords* too, till it had made the *whole* House *Precarious* and *useless*; the same Parity of Reason will impower us as well, to dissolve the *whole*, as to *Exclude a part*: *Meer* Religion never yet forfeited an Estate, and with such Persons, their *priviledge* of *Peerage* is more valuable: But their *Property*, I confess, might as well have been seiz'd, with the same *Justice* that these Rights were *invaded*; believe your King in *Honour*, in *Equity* bound to restore them, believe it but common *Justice* for them to *desire* it: *Credulity* is neither a Folly nor a Crime, when well grounded, and then you can never

never believe your King so false and designing, or your fellow Subjects to have any other Plot, but to regain their just Rights, their Inheritance, and the only Badge of their Honour, that can make them look like *Lords*, or maintain their *Peerage*; 'tis plain, while this their incapacity lasts, they are no longer *Peers*. It is but a more Civil sort of an *Attainder*, the Construction of Law will not allow it, no more than the Latin Aphorism: *Nec sumus ergo Pares*, they may truly say, neither can they judicially pass a Verdict upon their fellow Subjects, and *equals*, that are to be try'd by their *Peers*; when this *Parity* of Priviledge is deny'd them, their very denomination is ridiculous and absurd; And another of those Inconsistencies among the many, I have observed the present Constitution of our State is expos'd to, so vainly ridiculous are our *fears*, that it makes us value our selves, and Celebrated Laws, in their *Injustice*, in the most shameful Absurdities and Contradictions.

What could a *Gracious* Monarch do more to oblige a *Jealous* People? If Discontent is *always* shifting Partys, what *possible expedient* is there besides this, of *pleasing* all: How have we been *Har'd* by that *reproach*, even *Holland*, and *Scandal* to the *very Dutch*, that \* *mayorquin*, and *Pulpit Politician*, that hath put himself upon *Divinity* with as ill Grace, as he has upon the *States*, for *Protection*; but all Reverence and Regard to that Sacred Function, is superseded, where such a *Mungrel Divine*, this *Theologo-Politicus*, with such foul Language, shall fall upon \* *His Majesty*, his \* *Ministry*, and some of his own † *Clergy*: How hath he to obviate this *Happy Union*, alarm'd the Nation with *Irregularities in Elections*, and *undue Proceedings*? How does he in these very Papers pursue the People with the Jealousies of \* *a new set of Charters*, and *Bold Returns*? But that His Majesty might

\* In his Enquiry 'tis Englisht.

\* *Vid.* fix Pap.  
\* *Vid.* *ibid.*  
and his Apology.

† *Vid.* His Enquiry.

\* Reflect on Parl. Pacif.  
1 part, Sect. 9.

might baffle *Malice* it self, and make us asham'd of *fear*, his *Declaration* has assur'd us, and that as far as his *Commands* can, that the *Members chose*, shall be as fairly return'd, according to the true Merit of the *Choice*; but *bold Returns* is at best but a *bad* excuse with those that do not care to acquiesce with its Determinations, and does serve the turns of such *Doctors in Divinity*, as *Hypochondriacal*, or *Scorbutick* do, some other *Doctors* in another faculty, when they have a defect of some *Specifick* fortune in their *Diagnosicks*, it resolves it self into some *General Distemper* of the *Body Politick*; and from, perhaps, one disorder'd *Member*, would make a *dissolution* of the *whole House*.

But 'tis time to have done with this *reproachful* piece of *Ecclesiastical Policy*, that has been so lavish in his *Opprobrious Language*, and *Reproaches*, upon all sorts of People, all Orders of Men, Sovereigns, and Subjects, things Sacred, and Civil, Kingdoms, and Commonwealths; and even as the *Viper* in the *Fable*, stings his very Country-men that warm him: The Generous Protection of the *States* is but ill, deserv'd, and as basely returned by one that can upbraid them with the \* *Abandoning Luxemburg*, and their *Peace of Nimmeguen*, which perhaps, in Civility, we might have past by; and 'tis but an odd sort of kindness, the discovering of *great faults*, only for the making a *little Excuse*. This Pompous Author with his wonted Vanity, Prides, and values himself upon the Dispute with his Adversary *Mr. Varilla's* (and as he says) his being order'd to insist no more on it, by the *Fren. K.* and I think 'tis high time now, for the Honour of the *States of Holland*, to silence him too: 'Tis time for him to *silence himself*, since His Majesty has superseeded the Mischiefs, that his utmost *Malice* and *Calumny* can do; as angry as he was at his being told the worst

\* Vid. Reflections, Paragraph 7.

Reflect. 2 part pag. 7.

vid. Enquiry  
p. 1.

\* Vid. our  
Homilies a-  
gainst Idola-  
try.

thing *he could do*, it may be told him now he may *do his worst*. The King of *Great-Brittain*, as in the Constitutions of His Royal Predecessor *Constantine the Great*, will *establish* himself in all his Subjects Hearts too, will take for his *Great Example*, that Primitive Hero: The first Centurys; to which we *\*all* recur for *Purity*, for true *Catholick*, and *Apostolick Faith*, shall be his *Pattern*: That Prince is said by Mr. *Selden*, *first* to have made our *Crown Imperial*; and perhaps, His Majesty is the *first* too, that from the *general Love* of all his Subjects, affected so much this *Universal Empire*.

May all his *People* enjoy that *universal ease* that he aims at; may *Peace* of mind *within*, which *cheers* even the *outward Form*, Unite us in one *Common Interest*, in a *cheerful* and vigorous *Resolution* to maintain it against all force, and opposition from *abroad*; Let us take *Counsel together*, and tho' we cannot walk in one *House* of God, we may still meet like *Friends*, when no *Nation* is secure from an *Hannibal*, *that may be at the Gates*; 'tis too miserable a madness, that a *Man's Enemies* should be those of his *own Household*. May the *Liberty* to all *Churches*, make us *flourish* like *Holland*, and the *Protection* of the *Establish'd* one, as *Happy* as we would be *here*.

And thus have I run through the First part of his *Reflections*, not by picking out *pieces*, but *answering* the *whole*; which being made up of so much *Malice* and *Mistake*, I could not possibly confine to that compass I could have wish'd; and at the same time, to give it a thorough *Confutation*: For as in the *beginning* I promis'd to *consider* every *Paragraph*; so before I *end*, I hope the *whole* will have its due *Consideration*: I do not deal with the Doctor, as he does with those he *Reflects* on; produce no other Authority, besides the *Sayings* of

Pag. 1.

the

the Satyrift, and his Ascendant on his Reader: 'Tis easie in such *Reflection*, to Libel the *Fact* both with falsehood, and *Calumny*, 'tis a *Sententious* sort of *defamation*; and the Dr. indeed is so *dextrous* at it, as to do it most *Concisely*.——But a *Dogmatical* Assertion will never do with such as have Sense, and sufficient opportunity to consult *Originals*; and that is one reason why our Author would engross that \* excellency, and so secure himself from any Contradiction; I have therefore given at *large* the History of those things he so *concisely* touches on, and so submit it even to the Judgment of *those* that are resolv'd, perhaps, to be our *Enemies*, and his *Admirers*.

\* *Vid.* his *Enquiry*.

## F I N I S.

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*ERRATA*, Dele second Marg. Note, page 133.

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## Advertisement.

**T** Here is at present also in the Press, an Answer to Dr. Burnet's second Paper of *Reflections upon the Parliamentum Pacificum*; being a pretended *Vindication of Himself*.